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PETITION OF THE WHITE PEOPLE OF ALABAMA.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled: The white people of Alabama send this their humble petition.

We beseech your honorable bodies to withdraw yourselves from the influence of the passions and contests of the hour, and contemplate for a brief period our miserable condition, and the yet more wretched state which is already prepared for us. Surely it is only such influences that have prevented you from bestowing upon us a single ray of beneficent regard.

According to the last census taken by the Federal government the white people of Alabama largely outnumber the negro or colored population. And we think we arrogate nothing which your honorable bodies will not concede to us, when we say that nearly all of the education, intelligence, and civilization of the State are found in our race. But poverty prevails throughout the land. We are beset by secret, oath-bound, political societies. Our character and conduct are systematically misrepresented and maligned to you and in the newspapers of the North. The intelligent and impartial administration of just laws is obstructed. Industry and enterprise are paralyzed by the fears of the white men and the expectations of the black, that Alabama will soon be delivered over to the rule of the latter, and many of our best people are, for these reasons, leaving the homes they love, for other and strange lands.

Before the late unhappy war the white people of the South contributed their whole just proportion of the great and good men whose acts and characters constituted the chief renown of the Republic. Those of us who endeavored to withdraw the South from its partnership therein, did not do so in order to make war upon the Northern States or their institutions, but for the purpose (vain hope!) of peacefully establishing another, not unfriendly, independent confederacy, in which, under almost identical constitutions, we might be more free from discord. And however criminal, in your opinion, we may in this have been, yet neither our sins nor our sufferings have reduced us to uncivilized barbarians.

On the other hand, it is well known to all who have knowledge on the subject, that while the negroes of the South may be more intelligent and of better morals than those of the same race in any part of the world where they exist in equal density, yet they are in the main ignorant generally, wholly unacquainted with the principles of free governments, improvident, disinclined to work, credulous, yet suspicious, untruthful, incapable of self-restraint, and easily impelled by want, or incited by specious counsels into folly and crime. Exceptions, of course, there are, and chiefly among those who have been reared as servants in our domestic circles and in our cities. But the general character of our colored population is such as we have described. Whose fault it is that they are so—whether ours, under whose control they have certainly become better than their brethren in their native Africa—or the fault of anybody—it is needless now to inquire. We have to deal with the incontestable fact that in the main they are unlettered and capricious barbarians, turned suddenly loose from the condition of slaves, and eager to avail themselves of freedom to indulge and gratify their desires and passions.

Are these the people in whom should be vested the high governmental functions of enacting and enforcing laws, and establishing institutions to prevent crime, protect property, preserve peace and order in society, and to promote industry, enterprise, and civilization here, and the power and honor of the United States? Without property, without industry, without any regard for reputation, without control over their own caprices and strong passions, and without fear of punishment under laws, by courts, and through juries which are created by and composed of themselves, and those whom they elect, how can it be otherwise, than that they will, to the great injury of themselves, as well as of us and our children, bring blight, crime, ruin, and barbarism on this fair land?

Does any one say that your laws do not make them rulers over us? What difference does it make, except to increase jealousy and intensify antagonism—that white men are also allowed to vote with the black—when it is so contrived that the black shall have the predominance and dominion? We entreat you to pause and observe how your reconstruction acts are being executed here.

Of the negro population, whose numbers are many thousands *less*, the registered voters are over sixteen thousand *more* than those of the white race. And white men who hate us, and others from sordid motives co-operating with them, have by their own procurement or the procurement of others, and not by the intelligent choice of the negro-voters, been elected as their delegates for the purpose, and have framed and now presented for ratification to those registered voters, a constitution of government, all of whose best clauses are contained in our present Constitution and in every other instrument of the kind. But these are made delusive and useless by the diabolical ingenuity of other provisions, made to disfranchise us even beyond the enactments of Congress, and to insure over us and our children and all who come among us, the ascendency of the negro race. And these same designing and malignant enemies are prepared, so soon as that Constitution shall be ratified, to organize, arm, and invest with power under the forms of law a militia, to be composed chiefly of those same negro-voters, in order to perpetuate their lordship over us by the aid of bullets and bayonets. We cannot believe that the majorities of your honorable bodies intended by your enactments to effect such a reconstruction as this.

Will you, nearly three years after the war has ended, when the passions it kindled should have died out in the magnanimity which great success ought to inspire, suffer a whole State, full of your kindred, civilized, white inhabitants, not only those who had opposed the government, but women and children and loyal men who had adhered to it, to be thus delivered over to the horrid rule of barbarian negroes? Do not compel the honorable officers and brave men of the armies of the Republic to hold us down while such fetters are forged in our view and yours, and then ignominiously fastened upon us. We are compatriots of Washington and Henry and Jefferson and Madison and Marshall and the Pinckneys and Marion and Jackson and Clay and Taylor. Are there no names among these potent enough to arouse any respect for us in your legislative halls?

It is said—and by frequent repetition you are made to believe it true—that the negroes and self-styled loyalists cannot have justice done them, and are unsafe among us, and that we are still in a state of rebellion. The charges are false. Ever since the war our courts and upright judges in them have administered justice as impartially as anywhere else in the Republic. And toward the negro (who aided the South as cheerfully while he was in the Confederate lines as he afterwards aided the Northern armies when and where they had power), we have been, both from inclination and interest, humane and kind. The slanderers who say otherwise are those who are seeking to enslave us by your aid. They arrogate to themselves the majesty of the government of the United States, and call our *opposition to them* in their nefarious endeavors, to subject us to a new and unheard of despotism disloyalty to the United States.

When our people surrendered their arms they did so absolutely and without any purpose of ever again employing them against the government. Upon its requirement we also emancipated our slaves, and thus reduced ourselves from wealth to poverty. Not only this, but in every negro we set free we placed over us and our families a guard for the government upon the fidelity of our allegiance. This, it was supposed, would be the extreme demand of the conquerors. Yet, although by reason of our impoverishment and the terms of the instruments creating the war-debts of the South, it became impossible that they should ever be paid, and therefore, the demand that we should repudiate them was useless (we thought) for any other purpose than that of humiliating us, that demand was made; and we submitted, not without anguish, to the enforced humiliation of *expressly* repudiating these debts. Standing thus, stripped of arms, stripped of property, stripped even of credit and honor, and with negroes at our doors to strike us down whenever your officers shall command them to do so, who can believe that the people of the South contemplate anything else than submission to the United States? What higher evidence besides this could be given of the universal good faith and entireness and frankness of our surrender than the fact that, notwithstanding the great provocations of intruding political adventurers, not a single guerilla band has existed and been kept up against your authority since the abdication of the Confederate authorities, under whose orders the war was waged.

Continue over us, if you will do so, your own rule by the sword. Send down among us honorable and upright men of your own people, of the race to which you and we belong—and ungracious, contrary to wise policy and the institutions of the country, and tyrannous as it will be, no hand will be raised among us to resist by force their authority. But do not, we implore you, abdicate your rule over us by transferring us to the blighting, brutalizing, and unnatural dominion of an alien and inferior race, a race which has never exhibited sufficient administrative ability for the good government of even the tribes into which it is broken up in its native seats, and which in all ages has itself furnished slaves for all the other races of the earth.

THE SITUATION.

From the American Baptist.

The first impulse, on reading the Grant-Johnson correspondence, was for immediate impeachment; but the party leaders are settling back into their old inactivity. Gen. Grant is considered to be at the bottom of this policy. Though an unyielding antagonist when roused, he is constitutionally lethargic, and dislikes agitation. Driven into a corner by the President, he did not hesitate to show fight; but the moment his antagonist is down, and his petty and powerless attempt at despotism exposed to the scorn of the country, the victor interferes to screen him from punishment. The statement of the *Tribune* reporter as to what transpired in Committee has been denied on the floor of Congress, but there seems no doubt that Mr. Stevens was right in attributing the backdown of certain Republican members to the wishes of Gen. Grant. The New York *Sun* says there is still a quiet but strong determination to press the matter to a vote in the House, notwithstanding the failure in Committee.

Whichever way we look, the aspect of affairs is unsatisfactory. The failure of the constitution in Alabama is, we fear, the prelude to those disasters which the present schemes for hurrying forward reconstruction will bring us. We have copied on our first page an article from the *Tribune*, which is full of the usual fallacies. We do not believe that the Southern freedmen will gain anything from premature reconstruction. If the whites cannot manage to defeat the design of universal suffrage in one way, they will do it in another. The question with them is whether they can best defeat it by returning to the Union at once, or by remaining under military rule somewhat longer. On this point opinion is divided at the South, as well as at the North. But it is not from any feelings of loyalty that Pryor, Wade Hampton, and Longstreet are advocating the acceptance of the Congressional plan. It is simply from a belief that the sooner they are back in the Union the sooner they can gain the ascendency, and manage the affairs of their respective States in their own way. The New York *Herald* takes the same view of the case when it urges the Southern whites to come in without delay, on the ground that they can, in every State concerned, "if once restored to the status of New York or Tennessee as States of the Union, *within a year or two*, secure the whole control of the State. The whites have all the lands, all the capital, all the manufactures of the State, and if they would only follow the sound advice of Gen. Wade Hampton, they would get back into Congress as soon as possible to get these military governments out of the way, and in order to bring their influence to bear upon the blacks in behalf of the common interests of the community."

Republicans are equally anxious to get these States back before the Presidential election. They believe that with the Southern vote, the success of their candidate is certain. To secure the colored vote, they have sent agents all over the Southern States to organize the freedmen into loyal leagues; but we have little faith in any such machinery. Instead of preparing the colored voters to exercise an independent judgment of their own, it binds them to vote for the candidates of the party. This is only perpetuating just such a state of pupilage as their old masters desire to establish. Our object ought to be to educate and raise up the freedmen to a footing of absolute independence of all party control. We believe the present system of territorial military government, though imperfect, is a better security for their rights than the immediate establishment of State governments would give them. Great changes require time. In three or four years the freedmen will be much better prepared to protect themselves from demagogues and oppressors than they are now. By restoring the States, and, as a necessary consequence, removing the military, we shall virtually deliver them over to their masters.

Meantime, the President is doing all he can to make the protection of loyal men a nullity. Hancock, the newly-appointed commander in the Southwest, appears to be altogether in the interest of the conservatives. He arbitrarily removes nine members of the city council because they ventured to hold an election for city recorder, as he says, illegally, without his order, and while he was absent in Texas. It is a significant fact *all the colored members*, seven in number, were removed, and their places filled by conservatives of his appointment. Of the two white councilmen removed, one was Seymour Stright, Esq., a gentlemen well known to our readers. Gen. Grant, on reception of the intelligence, immediately telegraphed, countermanding the order, but Hancock replies that it will cripple his influence, and if he is overruled in the matter he must resign. Gen. Grant thereupon answers that if the change is already made, and the new appointees have entered on their office, he may let them remain!

DOES SLAVERY YET EXIST IN DELAWARE?

From the Wilmington Daily Commercial.

Upon further inquiry into the facts of the case of the young colored child who was discharged from servitude by Judge Hall, on Tuesday last, we have obtained the following interesting details:

Sometime in the month of March, 1862, William L. Sirman, of Delmar, Sussex county, Delaware, came to the house of Henry E. Morris, a respectable colored man, near Laurel, and with the assistance of two white men, William Elliott and Thomas Hearn, made an attempt to enter the house and take away Morris's child, then an infant nearly two years of age. Morris closed and fastened the doors and hid the child. Sirman seized an axe, broke open the door, threatened Morris's life, and afterwards seized the child and took her to his own house. From that time he never permitted the child to see its father. Its mother, Hetty Morris, wife of Henry E., was free at the time of the child's birth, and died shortly afterward.

These facts having recently come to the knowledge of some gentlemen who are warm friends of liberty and justice to the colored race, it was resolved by them to place the matter in the hands of counsel, and to adopt such measures as would not only secure justice in this case, but also destroy any kind of involuntary servitude that may now exist in Delaware. Their conviction was that all colored persons are held to an involuntary servitude different from the apprenticeship of white persons under the laws of our State, the holding is illegal and the indentures void. Such is the decision of Chief-Justice Chase, and of Judge Giles, of Baltimore.

Under the laws of Congress enacted to give a remedy in precisely such cases, Morris applied for a writ of habeas corpus. Upon its return, the respondent answered that he took the child without authority, and that he had no lawful cause for detaining her.

Sirman stated verbally that he held indentures of a colored child under a different name, and he in conversation alleged that it was the same person as the petitioner. Upon being questioned about these indentures, it appeared that they were executed by two magistrates, without notice to the father, and that for four years they had remained unrecorded, and also that they did not identify or describe the petitioner.

Sirman refused to claim under their authority, or to put their legality in issue.

It is a singular circumstance that when the child was brought up in the cars, she made efforts to go to her father, who was in the same car, although she had been taken from him in early infancy, and had not, save on one or two occasions, previously met him. Sirman restrained her in these efforts, and maintained a strict watch over her.

The poor little girl was almost bewildered by the strange sights and noises of the city. Every street car and every wagon rattling over the pavement startled her. She was unable to understand the struggle between her supposed master and her father. In the excitement and fear of the moment, she made loud outcries, which gave place to the greatest joy when she fully realized that she had been returned to her father. "*Now*," she said, "I shall get to go to school, and learn to read and write." * * * *

By reference to the laws of Congress it appears that any person who, under color of any law, statute, custom, etc., is deprived of any right, secured by the act of February 5th, 1867, or is subjected to different pains or penalties from white persons, on account of color or race, may bring civil action and recover damages, and the person so offending shall, on conviction, be fined not exceeding one thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or *both*, in the discretion of the Court.

Thus with law and justice and humanity on their side, we trust that the friends of the colored race will eradicate every trace of slavery from this State, punish all offenders, and secure to all persons the rights and privileges and the opportunities for improvement that the laws of the country guarantee to them. The Civil Rights bill, then, *is* operative and constitutional. One more step in the grand march of Liberty and Progress has been taken—a step that cannot be retraced, if any were base enough to desire it. One more of the old landmarks of barbaric slavery set up by State law has been swept away. Another of the odious distinctions of our Delaware laws is left high and dry as the tide of barbarism recedes from our land. One more unjust law is erased from our statute book, leaving our Legislature to repeal it and our whole slave code at their leisure. "Let him laugh that wins."

DISTRESS OF COLORED PEOPLE IN MISSISSIPPI.

A MEMORIAL ASKING AID TO EMIGRATE TO LIBERIA. —A REPLY BY HON. WILLIAM D. KELLEY.

Hon. William D. Kelley has received a communication from Mississippi enclosing the following memorial from three thousand colored people in that State appealing for aid to emigrate to Liberia. The following is a copy of the memorial, with Judge Kelley's reply to the writer:

Columbus, Miss., January 27, 1868.

To the Honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

The undersigned citizens of the State of Mississippi humbly entreat your favorable consideration of our petition. We want to go to Liberia. We want to go because we see no prospect of success here. The white people have too much the advantage of us. They have all the land, all the money, and all the education.

These things might soon be remedied if there was plenty of work for us to do and the people were disposed to favor us; but there are so many of us that we cannot all get work to do, unless we will work for almost nothing. Many have to beg the privilege to work for their victuals and clothes to-day. Besides this, many of the people are disposed to reduce us as low as possible, and get our work for as nearly nothing as possible.

For proof of these statements we need only refer you to the well-known facts of the last three years. Great numbers of the planters have refused the laborers their pay altogether. More than this: the people generally have labored to prevent the education of our children. Few planters will allow us a teacher of our choice on their plantations, and those who teach us in the cities are scorned and hated.

These things being so, how can we hope to secure homes of our own, or even to provide for our children? Much less can we hope to give them that education which is necessary to fit them for usefulness in life. How can we hope that our children will be any better off than we are if they grow up as they are growing up now?

If we could get to Liberia, we probably could do better for ourselves and vastly better for our children; but we have no money, and cannot go without help. We suppose, from all we can learn, it will require about one hundred dollars apiece to send us there.

Therefore we humbly pray and beseech your honorable bodies to look favorably upon our petition, and either send us to the home of our fathers yourselves, or enable the American Colonization Society to do so, and for your prosperity and happiness we will ever pray.

Over three thousand of us are waiting to hear what action will be taken in this matter.

JUDGE KELLEY'S REPLY.

Washington, D. C., February 16, 1868.

Rev. H. Ryan, Pastor M. E. Church, Columbus, Mississippi:

Dear Sir: Your favor, covering the petition of 3,000 American citizens, praying to be transported, at the cost of the government, to the Republic of Liberia, came to hand yesterday. The petition will be promptly presented to-morrow. I have meanwhile caused several copies of it to be made and sent to leading newspapers, that your prayer may be heard by the people of the country as well as by their representatives.

What a sad commentary it offers upon the fatal infatuation of the old master-class in the State of Mississippi! What Mississippi needs at this time is laborers who are skilled in the cultivation of her great staples. Without labor land is valueless; with it, it is the source of all earthly wealth. Were the land-owners of the South to stimulate the industry of her laborers by just rewards, they would find that it is the annual productions of labor that give value to land and create towns and cities; for in three years, with broad planting, if the seasons shall favor the growth and gathering of crops, they would probably be as rich as they were before the war. Their present course tends to their own impoverishment.

As I said to a gentleman of South Carolina, in a note of this date, there is a magnificent future for the South, if her people will wisely develop her material resources, and secure generous wages to her laborers, and the chance to her landless people to become freeholders. The true test of the civilization and prosperity of a community is the condition of its laboring classes; for, where the laboring people are most intelligent and most independent, the whole community is most prosperous. This is a vital and all-pervading law of social and political economy to which the people of the South cannot long blind themselves—now that slavery has been abolished.

Circumstances bear heavily upon your race at this time, but you must not despond. America is a better and a broader land than Africa, and causes are at work which will, in a little while, relieve you from the agonies you are called to endure for the present. These are the dark hours that precede a glorious dawn. They are dark, very dark; but the coming day will be one of perfect brightness. Cheer and sustain your people; encourage those who can to procure land. Write to Gen. Howard, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, if you have not already done so, and learn what provision, of which any of your class can avail themselves, is made by the homestead law. The Southern States, when so reconstructed as to be accepted by Congress, will give you equality before the law, and will each provide a system of education to the advantages of which all will have the right. I do not wonder at your depression; at your willingness to flee from the crushing ills you are called to endure; but I think it would be as unwise for you to go to the prosperous young Republic now rising on the coast of Africa, as it would for our impoverished government to apply from half a million to a million of dollars—for it would cost that sum—to the exportation of laborers whose sweat is needed on her unoccupied land.

While, therefore, I shall present your petition, and am grateful to you for its simple and moving eloquence, I would, were compliance with it seriously proposed, oppose the measure.

Let me suggest that if you, or others at Columbus, are not in correspondence with the Congressional Executive Committee, that you write to its secretary, T. L. Tullock, Esq., and ask him to send you the several publications of the committee. Gather your people about you and read this letter to them, and tell them that it is the voice, not of one man, but of hundreds of thousands of men in the North, and that they must be of good courage, and by their temperance, industry, economy, and by their loving help to each other prove their manhood, and that they deserve all the blessings that free government can confer upon its citizens.

Yours, very truly,

Wm. D. Kelley.

THE REBELLION OF ALABAMA.

From the N. Y. Independent.

Alabama presents a strange spectacle. The new constitution is defeated because it was not voted against. Loyalists went through rain and mud, by tedious roads and over swollen streams, to cast their ballots; rebels stayed at home by their firesides, and cast no ballots; yet those who voted lost the election, and those who failed to vote gained it. To carry an election by avoiding the polls is a novelty in our American system. Such a case was never contemplated before, and is hardly likely ever to occur again.

When Northern citizens had just rubbed their eyes clean of the smoke of the war, the first sight they saw was eleven States without civil governments. President Johnson set forth this fact by proclamation, and, to supply the vacuum, officially revived the Confederate state governments. But these governments, thus reclothed by a tailoring President with their original garments of gray, practically reinstated rebels and re-oppressed negroes—exalted the enemies and betrayed the defenders of the Union; whereupon (though with too slow a promptitude) Congress refused to acquiesce in the President's aristocratic "white man's" policy, and substituted for it a plan of reconstruction by which the people of the South, without distinction of color, excepting only a few specified types of rebels, should be duly enrolled, and after enrollment should elect a convention to draft a new constitution, based on the sound and safe doctrine of political equality. This constitution, in its ratification by the people, was to receive, in order to validate it, the votes of a majority of all the registered voters. The number of votes cast in September for the convention furnished a fair estimate of the number likely to be cast in February for the constitution. In September, out of 170,000 enrolled voters, about 90,000 voted for a convention, being more than half the whole number of persons entitled to vote. The rebels, seeing in this proportion the sure adoption of the constitution, sought to change the proportion by adding new names in great numbers to the registry list. They thus swelled the enrollment by 30,000 additions—making, all told, about 200,000 registered persons; of whom the 90,000 loyal voters in the State would be less than the required half. At the recent election; it required more than 100,000 loyal votes to outweigh the 100,000 rebels. So the majority of rebels had simply to stay at home in order to defeat the minority of loyalists. It was by these tactics—thoroughly Southern, crafty, and ambuscading—that the new constitution was defeated. Wendell Phillips can still point to "The South Victorious."

What next? Is Alabama to come back without a new and equal constitution? Never! Let her rather be kept out till doomsday. If Alabama stays at home from the polls, Alabama must stay at home from Congress. We devoutly pray that the halls of the Capitol may never echo to the tread of an Alabamian representative till he goes there to represent the political equality of white men and black. No more slave States! No more rebel aristocracies! No more "white men's" oligarchies! Alabama must be a province governed by the sword until she can consent to be a State governed by justice.

The result shows that now, as during the war, throughout the whole South, the negroes are the only friends, and the whites the only enemies, of the Republic. The white Unionists (and noble spirits they are) are still as few in number, as weak in influence, as unpopular in their own neighborhoods, and as despised in general by Southern society, as they were during the rebellion. What a mere handful of white men voted in Alabama! What a mere corporal's guard of white loyalists that State was thus proved to contain! What slender material exists for making Alabama a loyal State on the basis of a "white man's government!" In all probability, except for the negroes and the United States army, the white men of Alabama would light the torch of civil war to-morrow.

If that State re-enters Congress before the next Presidential election, she ought to be represented there by negroes. Almost her entire loyal population are of this class; and, if the State is to be represented at all, let it be by her true representatives. The white loyalists of Alabama are the least representative of all her population. To send only these to Congress to represent that State would be like sending to the British Parliament the few English residents of Belfast to represent the Irish people. If the next Governor of Alabama were a black man, the General in command would have no occasion to depose him, as he deposed Gov. Jenkins, for fanning alive the unquenched sparks of the rebellion. Certainly the first delegation from Alabama to Congress should be composed of at least one black Senator, and a proportion of three-fourths of black representatives.

The vote shows the formidable and defiant opposition which the whole South means to make against the Congressional or any other just plan of reconstruction. This opposition, if not conquered and disarmed, boldly and promptly, threatens the safety of the nation at the next Presidential election. The prime author of the reanimated rebellion in the South is Andrew Johnson. It is solely through his leadership that the conspirators of the Confederacy are still conniving against the Republic. Defying Congress himself, he stimulates the rebels to defy it. Breaking the law himself, he invites the Southern people to become a banditti of anarchists. Wielding the power of one-third of the government, and doubling this power by leaguing himself with the enemies of the Union, he is proved by the Alabama election to be more of a governing force in the South to-day than the entire Congress, with the help of the entire army, has known how to become. Left to himself, the President will grow every day stronger. In fact, he may yet achieve the absolute and total rout of Congress. Holding the Democratic party of the North in one hand, and the rebel majority of the South in the other, he may yet find a sudden chance to fling these weights, like two millstones, to crush the Congress rival plan of reconstruction, and destroy it. The only safety is in his immediate impeachment. Heretofore, it was said, "Why impeach him? He cannot do any harm. He is powerless." But the Alabama election shows that Andrew Johnson is the chief power of the Government in the work of reconstruction. Powerless? Who is more powerful? He has thus far signally defeated Congress in reconstructing the Union. Does not this show power enough? If he had *more* power, he would destroy us utterly! Let the sceptre be smitten out of his hand! The public safety demands it. A speedy restoration of the Union cannot be effected without it. Common sense dictates it. Justice waits for it.

There has been a futile expectation that Congress would succeed in overruling the President. This is impossible. The President's coworkers are too many; his opportunity is too stupendous; his influence is too universal; his power is too regal. Congress cannot reconstruct the Union while Andrew Johnson sits in the Presidential chair. If Congress expects to accomplish its work, it must get rid of its hindrance. The President destroys by night what Congress builds by day. There is but one remedy—put him out of the way! The American people hold Congress responsible for a just, safe, and speedy restoration of the Union. If Congress fails to achieve this, and achieve it soon, shame and dishonor shall attach to its members and its history. But it never can be achieved while Andrew Johnson, wielding one-third of the government as his destroying weapon, stands fighting against it, as last week in Alabama. Wisdom, firmness, and promptness join their three voices in crying, Off with his head!

THE PRESS.

The N. Y. *Express* pays a merited tribute to the Episcopal church in an article entitled

THE TYNG TRIAL—THE REAL MEANING OF IT.

It says:

The Tyng trial is finished, so far as the pleadings before the Ecclesiastical court are concerned, but not in St. George's Church, however, as we see the father of the party on trial announces that this evening he intends to deliver his argument in the case, from the pulpit. So that, even before the judgment of the Court is ascertained, it is determined that the agitation shall go on.

As secular journalists we have no especial concern in the question immediately at issue—a question which is one for churchmen rather than the newspapers to settle; but as journalists, alive to what concerns the public welfare and peace of society, one may be permitted to express the hope that the result—whatever it may be—will maintain the conservative and consistent character of the Protestant Episcopal church. We know from experience the high value of that conservatism. We do not forget that, at a time when, pending the election of Lincoln and Hamlin, all the pulpits in the land, from Maine to California, were playing into the hands of the Puritans, and working up the public mind to a pitch of fanaticism never before witnessed in this country—a fanaticism which culminated in a bloody four years' war—the Episcopal Church stood as firm as a rock against the overtures that were made to seduce it from the path of duty. All through that eventful civil war, when the political pulpiteers were preaching but little else save vengeance and blood, the clergy of that church confined themselves to the preaching of the Gospel. There were some few exceptions—and as it so happens that these few are the very men who are now figuring before the public as violaters of canons, and candidates for martyrdom, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that what they are really after is, not freer opportunities to preach the Gospel of Christ, but freer opportunities to preach Radical politics, and to enlist the Episcopal Church among the Beechers, the Cheevers, the Frothinghams and other preachers of the Gospel of Vengeance. These pulpit demagogues moreover will never forgive this Church for being the first religious organization to extend the hand of Christian fellowship to their Southern countrymen, after the war had ceased, nor will they forget the unpardonable sin of its clergy in refusing to join the mere negro worship, with which much of what is called evangelical religion, under Puritan inspiration, is now running.

It is a Church which has helped to keep our political, civil, and social union together—and as that is a crime which the Puritan heart can never be expected to tolerate, what wonder that so persistent an effort should now be making to punish the criminal by sowing the seeds of disunion in his household, and setting brethren of the same faith by the ears?

We are led to believe that, in pursuance of those plans, it was necessary to have some sort of a "martyr,"—and just as "Old John Brown" was the "martyr" employed by the Loyal Leagues to bring on the civil war—so it is supposed young Mr. Tyng now is the "martyr" that has been chosen to work up the politico-religious demonstration against the Episcopal Church. Whether the business will pay or not remains to be seen. We confess to some questionings on the subject. One martyr here is making martyrs elsewhere—and the article hence, with an overstocking of the market, will soon become very cheap. Even while we write this, we see it announced that "another Tyng case" has occurred in Providence, R. I., where a Rev. J. P. Hubbard, of the Episcopal Church, has been exchanging pulpits with Rev. Mr. Dennison, a Baptist minister, against the express and earnest prohibition of Bishop Clark. In his reply to the bishop, Mr. Hubbard indicates a purpose which is succinctly stated in the following extract:

"If by any such legislation you cut me off from you I shall not cease to be an Episcopalian. I shall still remain in the communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Many beloved brethren like myself, thus cut off, will be with me. We shall, if thus forced to it, *form a new and more pure branch of the Protestant Episcopal Church.*"

Here, then, is an unmasking of the whole plot. The Episcopal Church must be puritanized (that is, made "more pure")—in other words, must be made a mere political machine for the convenience of the Loyal League Clubs, and its affiliating "philosophers" who blasphemously used to tell us, with Wendell Phillips, that what they are after is not only an Anti-Slavery Bible, but an Anti-Slavery God. We do not believe these sappers and miners will succeed. They have, long years since, destroyed the catholic and national character of the Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist Churches—but we have an impression that their attempts now to demoralize the Episcopal Church will prove entirely too much for them.

MEMORIAL

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES REGARDING THE ABOLITION OF THE PRESIDENCY.

There can be but two, principally consistent, systems of government—Absolute Monarchy, and Absolute Democracy.

Any form of government, intermediate between these extremes, is an untenable compromise and must, sooner or later, revert into the one or advance into the other.

Absolute Monarchy allows no rights to the governed, and concentrates all power—legislative, executive, and judicial—in the person of the monarch. The empire of King Theodorus is its latest pattern. The development of mankind tending, however, toward Democracy; and, Absolute Monarchy being unable to, permanently, either suppress or satisfy that tendency; Monarchy was compelled, in the course of events, to concede more or less of its ground to Democracy. And the latter—being yet undeveloped, and too weak to neutralize the former by totally abolishing the monarchial system—contented itself with those concessions, which consisted in a "partition of powers." Hence, the origin of "constitutional monarchy." Since Montesquieu, Europe treasured this idea as the political philosopher's stone; whereas it is but a deceptive compromise between two opponents who pretend to aspire to a common end, while the contrast of their natures compels them to a strife which can be ended only in the destruction of the one by the other. And the "partition of powers" having been so adjusted as to leave Monarchy possessed of the actually decisive power—the executive—armed with the military and the treasury—Democracy must, of course, always bear the losing part in that strife, unless—which rarely takes place—the main instrument of the ruling power, the army, refuses obedience to its commander.

Despite this evident and ingrained, dangerous defectiveness of the "partition of powers" system as exhibited in "constitutional monarchy," the same institution has been foisted on the Republic. An essential change was expected to spring from *electing* a king—termed President—instead of inheriting (or being inherited by) him; limiting his tenure of office instead of accepting it "for life;" and terming the State a Republic instead of a Monarchy. The names were changed; but the old substance was, in the main, retained. It was, indeed, acknowledged that "all powers are derived from the people;" but their retention by the people was not provided for. Pursuant to the old superstition that a "partition of powers" must be had, the chief power—the executive, holding in its grasp the military and the treasury—which had been barely wrenched from a perjured king, was settled on a perjured president; and then the people were surprised, of a morning, to find the new Republic assassinated, and its grave mounted by a President become Emperor. The French have had to pay dear for the sagacity of their political instructor, Montesquieu. For their next revolution, Louis Napoleon will be their instructor; their republic will not again be handed over to a monarch, dubbed, President; their executive power will be united with that which they can always control—the legislative.

But why mention France? She did but follow the example set by the "United States," the principal Republic of the world. We have first cited France, merely because she was the first to test the proposition advanced by the "United States." The question now is, whether this country will heed the warning that others have given to it at their sore cost.

At the time when the "United Colonies" renounced England, the republican idea was but little developed in them. They threw off the monarchic yoke—not because it was monarchic, but because it oppressed them. Their people were monarchists at heart, and several of their widest-famed statesmen deemed a "constitutional monarchy" of the British pattern to be the best form of government. Had a British prince, residing in the colonies, assisted them in their opposition to the mother country, they would, doubtless, have given him the lead, and, later, proclaimed him their hereditary ruler. In default of a candidate for hereditary monarch, however, they created an elective monarchy. They had no exemplar to imitate, of a republic with really democratic institutions, and they had not outgrown the theory of the "partition of powers." Thus, it became a matter-of-course, that they should resort to a composition of monarchial and democratic institutions—at the head of which they put a President. Had they been blessed with an Andrew Johnson, they would probably have bethought themselves of another disposition of the executive power: a Washington being their chief, they suspected not that the President is but a king in broadcloth—whose portfolio is as full as Louis Napoleon's, of usurpations and *coups d'etat*.

The Constitution of the United States provides that the President shall be the executor of the laws made by Congress. But constitutional as well as legal provisions have always failed, when unsupported by physical force and opposed by a power more or less independent of them. With the executor commanding more force than the legislator, the master is dependent on the servant; and the servant is constantly tempted to make himself master. It is in the nature of things that an executive power "co-ordinated" to the legislative, submits but reluctantly to the same; that, fully equipped, and continually authorized to act, it feels itself superior to the power which is authorized only to deliberate and resolve from time to time; that, being the constant object of public attention, the centre of all political action, the organ of all national manifestations, and the source of all favors—it presumes to more consequence and to a higher mission than is borne by an assemby which nominally represents the people, but has, virtually, no means of asserting its influence; that, in the consciousness of its might and importance, it becomes readily liable to the temptation of using these for the achievement of its own will and for usurpatory actions, in defiance of the powerless legislature.

It is impossible to avoid such dangers by special legal limitations. For, if these limitations are carried to the extent of rendering the Executive entirely harmless—of tying him, as it were, hand and foot, they also render him incapable of performing his office; whereby he becomes, not superfluous merely, but even pernicious through impotence; whereas, if he is allowed to retain the means of performing his office (which comprise, especially, the command of the army and navy, the control of the treasury, the appointing and removing power, the representation of the Republic abroad, etc.), he has again therein the means of asserting his own will and endangering the Republic. Andrew Johnson has furnished practical illustration of the futility of any attempt to render a dangerous Executive harmless in detail by restrictive legislation. But the danger ousness of the President becomes extreme when, on extraordinary occasions—especially, in case of war—the entire resources of the country are placed at his immediate disposal; when he becomes the "sole arbiter" of the nation's destiny; the Republic is taught to obey the order, the demand—yea, the beck!—of one individual.

Before discussing the lessons, in this direction, to be derived from the experience of recent years, let us investigate the prerogative position assigned to the Executive by the Constitution itself.

In the very process of election, the exceptional position of the President is recognized, in his being elected—not by the people direct, but by an electoral college independent of the popular will.

Being inaugurated, he has command—not only of the regular army and navy, but of the entire militia of the country, if called out. Albeit he has not the right to declare war, he can, through the Secretary of State, easily provoke a foreign, or, like Mr. Buchanan, encourage a domestic, war.

The royal prerogative of pardoning exalts his favor above law and justice. Remission of penalty should proceed solely from the power which imposes penalty; namely—the Legislature—the people.

Albeit the treaties that he may make with alien nations are dependent on the Senate for ratification, he finds no difficulty—as Mr. Seward has shown—in forcing upon the Senate, as well as upon the House of Representatives, covertly prepared treaties, in a way to render their rejection, without compromising the government, impossible.

He appoints the Judges of the Supreme Court. He—who chiefly is tempted and enabled to violate the Constitution—may make his creatures members of that bench which is to try violations of the Constitution. Yea—more yet—in the person of the Chief-Justice, he appoints the president of the very tribunal which, in case of impeachment, is to judge himself! The privilege of such judicial appointment by executive power is an anomaly bordering on the monstrous.

He is to execute the laws of Congress: yet, *his* privilege is it, first, to make them into laws. Lacking his signature, the laws of Congress are mere proposals; and, when he refuses to sign, two-thirds of a legislature, consisting of several hundred members, is requisite to supersede one man's veto. By these wholly anti-democratic provisions, the Constitution does not only impute to the President more importance and more competence than to the representatives of the people, but it brings him at once into conflict with them, in first allowing the executor to act as legislator, and then requiring him to execute laws vetoed by himself.

The President's authority (borrowed from constitutional royalty), of not only convening, but also proroguing, Congress (when the two Houses can not agree on a date of adjournment) forms another point of executive ascendency.

All these exorbitant powers of the President—all borrowed from the "constitutional monarchies" of Europe—stand in flagrant contradiction to, and act as a nearly insurmountable bar against, the provision whereby Congress may call him to account and judge him at its bar. The idea of responsibility involves that of a decided *subordination*—a dependence of him who is responsible, upon them to whom he is responsible. According to what has been said, however, Congress is more dependent upon the President than the President is upon Congress. The messages of Mr. Johnson show that the actors' parts have already been exchanged; for the President impeaches Congress, while Congress allows him—notwithstanding all his misdeeds—to go scot free. The President has the elements of power; Congress has but words: he can act; Congress can but talk: he orders the Legislature to assemble and—as the case may be—to disperse; the Legislature must seek him "at the other end of the avenue:" he has a thousand favors to give or withhold, toward the legislators; these may, at the utmost, occasionally refuse office to one of his creatures. Under these circumstances, the very worst of Presidents would hardly be disturbed in his equanimity by his responsibility to Congress; particularly as the Constitution still further protects him, by the contrivance that the representatives of the people have but the right to *accuse* him, whereas two-thirds of the representatives of *States* are requisite to sentence him.

If, however, something more were wanting to encourage the President in presumptuousness, as also in the widest application of his plenary power, that want would be filled by the hazardous constitutional regulation which, for nine months out of twelve, during the adjournment of Congress, leaves him, alone and unchecked, at the head of the government. During this long period, he is "master of

the situation," Congress—unless special provision is made—has neither opportunity nor authority to oppose him: in fine—the country is, for nine months, abandoned to the mercy of the autocrat at the White House. The Mexican constitution attempts to remedy this fatal defect by instituting a permanent congressional committee, to supervise the action of the Executive during the adjournment, and to convene Congress if necessary; but even this measure, which may be serviceable ordinarily, cannot suffice, on extraordinary occasions, to avert the dangers inevitably involved in the existence of an executive power separate from the legislative.

If ever the American people were closely threatened by these dangers, they were so during and after the Southern rebellion. Granted that, in 1860—or even yet in 1864, an Andrew Johnson had succeeded in becoming President, by the same deceptions through which he attained the Vice-Presidency—there is not a moment's doubt but that the Republic would, to-day, no more have existence; that slavery would rule its entire territory with an iron rod. Wherein would the prime cause of that calamity have consisted? Not in the turpitude of Andrew Johnson, but in the position assigned to him—a position which gives to one unchecked individual the control of the entire might of the Republic. Fortunately, Andrew Johnson did not come into power until near the close of the war. Although Abraham Lincoln did not use his power toward the subjugation of the Republic by the slaveholders, he, too, showed plainly enough how he might have used it. The ascendency of the executive power—which had, already with Pierce, become apparent so ominously, and which, with Buchanan, had grown into a reign of reckless brutality—assumed, with Lincoln—favored by the concentration of the war-power—the nature of almost sovereign rule. Not only rebel-sympathizers, but many sincere friends of the Republic, did even then stand in fear of a *coup d'état*. If, then, a late rail-splitter and flatboat-man, said to be a paragon of simple-mindedness, and enjoying the full confidence of his party, could—in possession of the Executive Chair—excite fears of a *coup d'etat*, the dangerousness of an office must become apparent, which puts the incumbent in command of a million soldiers. May it not—yea, must it not, in certain cases, encourage an ambitious and treacherous incumbent to an attempt against the Republic? Who could save the Republic, if, in case of another war, a victorious general, sure of the support of the army, and in possession of the Executive-Chair, should undertake to provide the people, blinded by martial glory, with a king—to transmute "His Excellency" into "His Majesty?" Did not Lincoln's successor, after the close of the rebellion—when the President's power was, by the disbandment of the army, reduced to its minimal degree—still, repeatedly, alarm the country by the just fear of a *coup d'etat?* Did not his secretary of state offer to the people the alternative, "President or King?" And who is to say that the expectation of a *coup d'etat* would have been disappointed, if the usurper's courage had equalled his ill-will, or if Congress had put the menace of his recent message to the test, by impeachment? Yea—since the congressional vote on the impeachment has decreed to him absolution for the past and license for the future—who dare guarantee that he will not usurpatorily interfere in the next presidential election, by which his opponents hope, at last to get rid of him?

The only constitutional remedy against the abuse of an executive power, second in extent and influence to no royal power on earth, is that of impeachment. Yet, on its very first trial, this remedy did not only prove useless, but was received with derision and defiance by him against whom it had been directed. That trial has justified the worst fears which prevailed, concerning the importance of the Legislature as against the Executive; it has revealed how far the President of this Republic may carry his arrogance, his unscrupulousness, his lawlessness, his usurpation, without being called to account therefor; it has exhibited how much mischief, abuse, insult, the people of a Republic may have to suffer from their so-called servant, without any practicable means of legal redress; it has proved that, in practice, the President is "unimpeachable," like a constitutional king—without having, like him, a responsible ministry; it has not only authorized Andrew Johnson to repeat all his previous misdeeds, but encouraged him to exceed even these, hereafter; finally it it has set to each one of his successors a precedent, relieving them, at the outset, of any scruples regarding excessive assumption of power. Since the actions which Andrew Johnson has committed could not bring about his removal from office, it appears that only such transgressions can procure the "deposition" of the President, as, at the same time, would make him lord of his judges. The French National Assembly, too, did at last condemn Louis Napoleon for high treason; but the condemned sent his condemners to prison. If, however, neither Andrew Johnson nor any of his successors should exceed the measure of maladministration allowed to them by the congressional vote on impeachment, even that amount would be sufficient to render nugatory all constitutional guaranties; for—unless, by abolition of the Presidency, and additional "Johnsons" be made impossible—it needs but a consecution of two such, to ruin the Republic even without a *coup d'etat*.

The presidential office is, more than any other, an office of trust. Its dangerousness can be but temporarily cloaked, by the incumbent's fully justifying the trust reposed in him at election. But the majority of the presidents have not responded to the trust placed in them; which is evidence—even more of the corruptive influence of the office, than of the original depravity of its incumbents. This experience should teach, moreover, that, in a democratic polity,—where "eternal vigilance [*i. e.*,—eternal mistrust] is the price of liberty"—confidence in persons should never be allowed to replace constitutional guaranties. Popular confidence must, in the end, inevitable become ruinous if, thereby, the people bestow more power than they retain for abuses thereof. A constitution which renders confidence in the wielders of the public power most superfluous, by rendering the abuse of such power most difficult, is assuredly the best.

The attainment of this end, with the retention of the Presidency, is—as above demonstrated—impossible. But, were it possible to restrict the President's power—without impairing his usefulness—so as to prevent his exalting himself above the Legislature, and to relieve him from all temptation to usurpation; his position, as the pivot of partisanship and the mainspring of corruption, would still be irreconcilable with the public good.

When the Presidency was first instituted, it was regarded as an agency for the execution of the popular will and the maintenance of the public interests. In this sense, the office was administered by its first incumbents. Later, it came to be considered more and more as an agency for satisfying the ambition of candidates and the greed of party-managers. At the beginning, the victors gained the honor of advancing the welfare of the people; later, they felt no shame in proclaiming and practising the scandalous maxim, "To the victor belong the spoils." The "Fathers of the Republic" became the fathers of plunderers. Principles, which formerly determined the formation of parties, came to serve as bait for votes; the main object of leaders and managers came to be, booty. The Presidency became the aim of each ambitious politician; to attain it he had not only to adopt his principles to circumstances, but to obligate himself to every associate who might further his purposes; and, on attaining it, he had to give the offices, on whose proper administration the weal of the land depends, first—not to those who would best serve the people, but to those who had best served him. Thus, the whole struggle for the Chief Magistracy of the Republic became a strife for prey, or a bargain in which self-interest took the place of the public interests, and in which intrigue and corruption were the most efficient agencies. The struggle being over, however, and the victor installed, the preparations for its reiteration at once begin. All the power and patronage at the disposal of the victor is exercised, to procure for him another term of office, or, at least, to secure the succession to his party. Thus, the chief activity of the public men—which ought to be devoted to the public good—consists ever in a scramble for the personal good whose inexhaustible storehouse is the Executive Mansion. Everything centers in the White House; every thing diverges from the White House; and even the Capitol, at times, is changed from a place of debate on the public good into headquarters for the fight about the White House. The White House is the high-school of corruption, as it has become the seat of treason. Whoever shares the opinion that the life of the Republic is in the virtue of its citizens, must ascribe to that virtue superhuman strength, if he be willing to put it to test by the institution of the Presidency. It is difficult to estimate how many hundred millions in money the Presidency has cost the American people; but the loss of moral purity and true republican spirit, caused by it among the masses, as well as among the leaders, becomes, daily, everywhere apparent in a truly frightful manner. The institution of the Presidency is so intrinsically pernicious that there may be a doubt whether the President does not cause as much harm before election as after inauguration; for each Presidential electoral campaign is a training-school of all deceptions, intrigues and evil passions whereof ambitious and covetous partisanship may avail itself, and all the people come to be trained in that school, without ever growing aware of its ruinous influence on the public morals.

Should the Constitution of the United States serve other nations for a model, in future, such will least likely be the case with regard to its disposition of the executive power. When the Swiss Republic, in 1848, revised its constitution, it retained two unsound institutions which it has in common with this country—State (Canton) Sovereignty, and the Two-House (or, Two-Chamber) system in the Legislature; but it took good care not to adopt the *Presidency* from the United States. Its executive department consists of a Federal Council of seven members, which (like its Supreme Court) is chosen for three years, by the Federal Assembly, from all the eligible citizens of the country. This Federal Council elects, annually, its own presiding officer. One person cannot preside for two years in succession. The Federal Council has not the right of veto, nor the power of amnesty or pardon, which is reserved to the legislative department. In case the public safety requires the calling out of troops, the Council must convene the Assembly, whenever the levy is to exceed 2,000 in number, or three weeks in duration.

The whole arrangement evinces a sense of the danger associated with an independent, individual, and powerful Executive. It puts the latter into direct dependence on the Legislature, making it a sort of ministry to the same.

In the opinion of the undersigned, the Constitution of the United States, likewise, stands in urgent need of revision, especially in regard to its organization of the executive power. The above-evolved reasons therefor may be condensed into the following positions:

1. The Presidency is a copy of royalty: it is an essentially unrepublican institution; for it exalts an individual into a ruling power over all the rest of the population, bringing them into a relation of subjugation toward him, and accustoming them to monarchial ideas.

2. It is thoroughly anti-democratic in nature; for it does not only ignore the direct authority of the popular will, but opposes an independent and autocratic front to the representative thereof—the Legislature.

3. It maintains the false, illogical, disorganizing theory—born of monarchy, and principally denying democracy—of the "partition of powers." In the democratic polity, all powers are derived from the people, and are no more capable of partition from and against each other, than are the people, The people are, politically, as much an integral entity as is an individual; and the functions delegated by them to their public agents can no better be divided against each other than can the functions of an individual; while they no more need a separate Executive to realize the resolves and laws evolved by them through their legislative organ, than the individual needs a separate, extraneous agent, to execute his designs and resolves. Likewise as the Legislature is the organ of the people, the Executive ought to be the instrument of the Legislature.

4. It is a constantly menacing, constantly growing, cause of danger to the Republic—whose eventual ruin it must inevitably occasion.

5. If it do not cause such ruin by direct, violent subversion, it must effect the same through corruption; for the presidential office is the source—the constantly growing source—of universal corruption. Its abolition is the only means of arresting the wide stream of corruption which now inundates the party-system, and of reforming the character of the latter. Whenever the division and the success of parties is no longer dependent on, and signalized by, the election of a President representing the ruling power, the drawing of their lines of demarcation and of battle will be confined to the floor of Congress, and determined by the principles and interests of the electors. *There* the mutual vigilance of the opponents will lay a rigorous check on all corruptive agencies.

In the opinion of the undersigned, the earliest possible abolishment of the Presidential office is imperatively necessary, to secure the Republic from the loss of its liberties through the ascendency of the executive power, as well as from the necessity of regaining them by revolution, which would, indeed, procure a radical amending of the Constitution, but would, withal, be accompanied by devastating anarchy, and, possibly, followed by the dissolution of the Union.

To avoid these dangers, the undersigned suggest that Congress propose an amendment to the Constitution, abolishing the Presidency, and transferring the executive functions to an Administrative Commission, or Congressional Ministry, to be chosen by Congress from their own body or from among other competent citizens, and to be supervised and instructed, during the adjournment of Congress, by a Standing Committee, who are to be in permanent session during that time, and who are to be authorized to call extra sessions of Congress when needed. That the people, however, may not lack means of exercising continual control over their representatives, the electors should be empowered to recall these and replace them by others, at *any time* when they may be found false to their trust.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 29, 1868.

THE PRESIDENT IMPEACHED!

The usurping President has been impeached. We heartily congratulate the loyal people of the Nation. This auspicious event has been too long delayed, but it is "better late than never." We hope soon to be able to announce that Andrew Johnson has been removed from the office he has so shamefully dishonored. We rejoice in his impeachment as we did in the defeat of the armies of Jefferson Davis and Gen. Lee, and for the same reasons. What Davis and Lee failed to achieve by their murderous warfare, Johnson would fain have accomplished for them and their rebel constituents, perfidiously in the name of the "Constitution."

All too long for the best interests of the Nation had his impeachment been postponed. We are well assured, as we have many times urged, that the people at large would have applauded Congress to the echo had this action been taken many months ago. His official position with his evil disposition has enabled Mr. Johnson to do serious mischief. He has been the chief disturbing force since the surrender of Lee. He has visited thousands of helpless victims with starvation, untold suffering and death. But his last overt offence is specially important because it is overt and unmistakable. It cannot be covered up by any legal quibbling or technicalities. It was a "leap ahead." As the beginning of a new phase in the conflict, and as a bold defiance of Congress and of the loyal people, it was as the firing of the first gun upon Sumter at the outset of the war. Had Congress allowed this offence to pass without meeting the issue thus made, the nation would have been henceforth at sea, wholly at the mercy of the drunken, despotic pilot. We have been brought to the very verge of a renewed war. Only the prompt, decisive action of the Senate in deposing the criminal offender, can save us from it now. With the helm in the trustworthy hands of the Hon. BENJAMIN F. WADE, the public will be reassured, and we shall be in the way of peace.

Impeachment has a much more comprehensive value than the immediate advantage which will accrue from it to the suffering loyalists, white and black, at the South. If sustained by the Senate, it will mark in history the date of the emancipation of the Northern mind from the dominion of Southern, pro-slavery influence. It will end the "Border State" policy in politics. Mr. Johnson, impeached, will be the last candidate chosen *because* he was a Southerner. As, in the progress of the war, the Emancipation Proclamation became a military necessity, so we had reached a point in reconstruction at which Johnson's impeachment, because of his treasonable, pro-slavery, Southern proclivities, had become a political necessity. No Southern man will hereafter be sought or trusted in high official position by the North unless he has a black skin, or, if white, has a record for Radicalism on the negro question which will satisfy the most ultra Abolitionist. Northern, Radical principles must hereafter dominate in the National government until the slavery-cursed South shall have been renewed, regenerated and disenthralled.

Our interest in impeachment, therefore, is chiefly in its significance as an assertion by Congress of the claim of the North to the fruits of the victorious thirty years struggle for the overthrow of the Southern slaveholding oligarchy. With Wade promptly in the Executive Chair, the fearful corruption now wrought by Johnson's agents in office stopped, and a united purpose between the legislative and the executive departments of the government in the work of reconstruction, there will be neither necessity nor excuse for taking for the next succeeding Presidential term a candidate of the least doubtful opinions, ability, or integrity. Congress must remember, too, that having deposed the usurping Executive, it logically and properly follows that his acts of usurpation in the fraudulent restoration of an immense amount of property to rebels, etc., should be pronounced null and void, and thus re-possess the government of much that justly belongs to it. The large landed estates of rebels forfeited to the Federal government, properly subject to the jurisdiction of Congress, but fraudulently conveyed away by the usurper, ought now to be so partitioned and used as to strengthen the hands of our deserving and impoverished friends, rather than, as hitherto, to embolden our unrelenting and murderous enemies. This action will be due to the true friends of the government in the South, and will materially tone down the now rampant spirit of hostility on the part of unrepentent negro-hating rebels. Let impeachment also at once be followed by such direct Congressional legislation and amendment of the National Constitution as shall henceforward obliterate from the statute-books, both of the Nation and the States, all invidious distinctions on account of race or color. To this goal impeachment, at this time, opens wide the door. All hail! at the prospect of its speedy triumph.

"STAND UP, IMPEACHERS!"

SUCH was the sudden cry in the "House of Representatives," at Washington, on Friday last, pending the question of temporary suspension of Congressional business, on the next day, the 22d.

There had just come in, it seems, a letter from Mr. Stanton to Speaker Colfax announcing the act and letter of the President purporting to remove him from the office of "Secretary of War" and substituting Gen. Thomas in his stead. Such a proceeding might well arouse at last the sluggish action and "righteous indignation" of our Congress, so palpably is it in violation of the Tenure of Office bill, and so plainly does it illustrate the President's persistent purpose of usurpation. Well might our Republicans in Congress, at such a crisis, leap to their feet and be aroused to the exclamation—"*Stand up, Impeachers!*" The Report says that this call was followed by a general uprising, and that "*No Republican remained sitting!*"—So far, well! and all hail! But the wonder is that they have so long continued, not only *sedentary*, but silent, recumbent, and without protest against the evil courses of our Executive. The wonder is that this "Traitor at the White House" was not long ago, arraigned and brought to trial for his repeated and atrocious violations of duty and decency in the office he holds. The wonder is that, for so long a time, our patience has had its more than "perfect work," and that the wise premonitions so often published in these columns in regard to these serious issues, have been so long unheeded or discredited. It would seem that the rankling and ripening up of Andrew Johnson's ill designs, for the last two years or more, might have been sufficient, ere this, to have aroused even the most saintly indignation and protest, but,—"better *late* than *never*," and thank Heaven, these protests have at last come! We have received the final "test ounce of endurance," and the last straw of long suffering has fallen upon that old "Camel's back" of a tolerant Congress, so that even from that long-tried sepulchre of State policies has come forth a cry of alarm "*Stand up, Impeachers!*" Let us see to it now, that it mean something! Let us *echo* it and *re-echo* it, as if it were the very trumpet call of an archangel, or the blast of an apocalypse! And here, mark you, how well come in those vigorous words of the strenuous old Paul where he says to the Ephesians (as if *they* had some impeachment work to do) "*Put on the whole armor of God that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the Devil,*" for, (as he further says) "we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." "Wherefore, take unto you the whole armor of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, *to stand!*" And is *our* work at *this* day, whether as Christians or Patriots, anything less than this *standing out* firmly, against "the wiles of the devil?" Consider. We have to deal now in our national and civil relations with a man whose cunning craftiness is consummate and notorious, a conspirator against the best interests and peace of the Republic, an ambitious autocrat, the obtuseness of whose moral sense is only equalled by the meanness of his motives, and whose moral courage is even poorer than his moral sense. Ever since President Lincoln was assassinated, this man, Andrew Johnson, his successor has seemed to be haunted by some apprehension of a similar fate, and so with a view to evade and ward it off, and in the hope and purpose of riding into a second term of office, has been slyly truckling to Southern secessionists, giving them "sops" of encouragement, putting in office those with whom they had more or less sympathy and displacing those to whom they were opposed; playing his cards, as I say, in the hope of compassing at last a second term of the Presidency by the combined forces of Southern rebels and Northern democrats! But perhaps his fortune at last, may be like that of other time servers, only to fall down between the two chairs he is trying to use. And since, now, at last, his conspiracy has so culminated and his audacity of usurpation, has come to be so outrageous, and since also resolutions for his Impeachment have at last found support and passage from the constituted authorities, there is nothing left for us "outsiders," but to "cry aloud and spare not," and to reiterate, with our best lungs that call—"*Stand up, Impeachers!*" and *do* now the duty which lies before you! "*Stand up*" and *confront* this persistent evil doer! "*Stand!*" and let him see that if you have borne with him thus far, it was only in the hope that he would "turn from the error of his ways." *Stand firm* in the execution of your serious and responsible trust. Rest not, falter not, nor compromise, nor turn back, till our troubled, wounded, and bleeding Republic is thoroughly entrenched and secured in every lofty principle of equal rights and human justice, and wholly expurgated of all duplicities, tyrannies, and oppressions. JOHN T. SARGENT.

OUR Washington correspondence, and the letters of Col. Moss in relation to affairs at the Capitol, will be read with unusual interest this week. Mr. STANTON still remains with admirable persistence and courage in the War Office, day and night. We hope he may be relieved of such a necessity by the suspension of Mr. Johnson from official position simultaneously with the impeachment trial.

WE print elswhere the "Petition of the White People of Alabama" to Congress for deliverance from the "horid rule of barbarian negroes." It will serve to show how little prepared the old ruling whites of the South are to accept the situation. That the negroes are not the barbarians they are proclaimed to be, is no fault of these insolent petitioning whites.

WE print this week the ably written Memorial for the abolition of the office of President which was presented in the Senate by Mr. Sumner recently. It is worthy of careful consideration and will be read with interest at the present time.

IN the article, "Waiting for the Verdict," printed in last week's STANDARD, for "man's fastidious white blood," etc. (eighth line from the top of the column), read "than fastidious white blood," etc; in the twelfth line of same column, for "slump off the animal," read "slough off the animal;" further down, "utter just such fallacies" for "other," and "Radical friends of the negro," etc., instead of "or the negro," etc.

WE have on hand several communications, and a large surplus of interesting matter intended for this week for which we are unable to find room.

PERSONAL.

Florence Nightingale has subscribed £1,000 to a fund for erecting an infirmary at Rotherham, England.

Wendell Phillips is lecturing in the West, for five or six weeks, in Erie, Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, St. Paul, and other towns.

The Rev. Dr. Cheever, we are glad to learn, is expected to preach in the hall of the House of Representatives at Washington on Sunday, March 8th.

Rev. John W. Chadwick will give his second lecture on the Bible next Sunday evening, March 1st, at 7½ o'clock, at his church, corner of Clinton and Congress streets, Brooklyn.

Mrs. E. A. Kingsbury is lecturing very successfully before Literary Associations, in Illinois and Iowa. Her theme is generally "Suffrage for Women," though she speaks upon other topics. It is good evidence of her effectiveness as a speaker that in several instances she has been invited to give a second and third lecture in the same town and with increased audiences.

Alfred H. Love, writing from Philadelphia on the 22d inst., says: "I consider this one of the most eventful days in the history of our Republic, and I tremble for fear our Congress will wait till Monday to impeach A. J., for if it does it will have time to grow cowardly again. How we need courage, I mean that moral courage which makes peace possible."

Mrs. Frances Anne Kemble, we are happy to announce, will give a series of four Shakespearian readings, at Steinway Hall, in the following order: On Monday evening, March 2, "Coriolanus;" Tuesday evening, March 3, "Midsummer Night's Dream;" Friday evening, March 6, "The Tempest;" on Saturday, 3 p.m., March 7, "King Lear." This announcement will be most welcome to many who remember Mrs. Kemble's brilliant and almost unparalleled success as a reader.

Sallie Holley lectured in Brooklyn, in the Second Unitarian chapel (the Rev. John W. Chadwick's) on Sunday evening last. The weather was extremely cold and unpropitious, but the audience for such an evening was a large one. Her subject was the "Negro's Rights and Wrongs." The lecture was a very earnest and Radical plea for the abolition of all proscriptive and invidious distinctions in the church, State and society, based upon race or color.

Anna E. Dickinson, on the 11th and 12th inst., visited Mount Pleasant, Iowa, and while there was the guest of the Dugdales. The journal of that city thus comments on her two lectures: "Anna E. Dickinson's power over an audience demonstrates, that woman as well as man is endowed with the gift of oratory and logic, such as enables her to fill lecture rooms and move her auditory at will. The lecture on last Tuesday evening, on "Idiots and Women," was a master effort. Her positions on the abstract principles of right, were well taken—were fairly taken. Her arguments clear. Her logic—like the thunder bolts of Jupiter—fiery, scathing and sweeping, as the tornado, everything before it. Her eloquence resistless as any orator who ever stood in our city."

Hon. Gerrit Smith, in a recent letter addressed to Frederick Douglass, writes: "I see in the newspapers that you are warmly for the election of Gen. Grant. I hope he recognizes the great political, as well as moral truth that a 'man's a man.' No nation can prosper, or permanently endure, that fails, cordially and practically, to recognize this vital truth. I am often asked whom I would have for President. My answer is that one might about as well ask an affectionate husband, who is his preference amongst women. I have known Chief-Justice Chase a long time, and intimately. So great is my admiration of him for his profound wisdom; so deep is my love of him for his many virtues; and, in my view, so strikingly supplied is he with all the elements of character for a chief magistrate, that I feel myself to be quite incapable of an unbiassed comparison between him and other candidates for the Presidency."

Miss Anna E. Bacher, whose funeral took place in this city, on Saturday the 15th inst., from the house of her kinsman, Mr. T. J. Coleman, West Washington Place, was aged eighty-four, and was born 1784 in Wall street, corner of Pearl, when New York had about twenty-two thousand population. Her father afterwards built and occupied a house far out in the country, and this house is still standing on the corner of Bleecker and Hammond streets. She had at her death in her service the daughter of one of her father's emancipated slaves, and requested before her death that this servant and her friends should have a carriage at the funeral. During the wicked riot against the negroes, in July, she opened her house to the poor fugitives from violence, and at eighty showed all the pluck and patriotism of her youth. Her family were members of the First Universalist Congregation, that worshipped in Vandewater street. Dr. Osgood, who had been pastor for years, in his morning sermon on Sunday last paid a hearty tribute to her worth.

Mrs. H. C. Speight, of St. Joseph, Mich., having written to Mr. J. Stuart Mill, thanking him for his championship of Female Suffrage, has received the following response:

AVIGNON [France], Dec. 16, 1867.

DEAR MADAM: I beg to acknowledge your letter of Nov. 28th, and to express my strong sympathy with the feelings you express respecting the claim of Woman to the Suffrage. In my place in Parliament, in my writings, and by every other influence I possess, I have long done the best I could to promote the admission of woman not only to political but to all other rights on the same conditions as men. I intend to persevere in this course; and I am happy to say that in my own country as well as in the United States, the cause is making far more rapid progress than I thought, even a short time ago, that there was any probability of its making in my lifetime. I am disappointed by the rejection, by the people of Kansas, of the measure proposed to them by the legislature on this subject; but I am confident that its adoption in that, and probably in some other States of the Union, will not be long delayed. I am, dear madam, yours, very truly,

Mrs. Speight. J. S. MILL.

IMPEACHMENT OF THE PRESIDENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 21, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

THIS afternoon has been an eventful one in the history of the nation. Secretary Stanton was seated in his office in the War Department when Gen. Lorenzo Thomas appeared before him and very politely demanded him to surrender to his possession the War office with all the books and papers thereto belonging, producing at the same time an order from the President removing Mr. Stanton and appointing Gen. Thomas Secretary of War *ad interem*. Secretary Stanton took time to consider the matter, and sent copies of the orders of the President to both Houses of Congress, which you will undoubtedly have received before this communication will reach you. The reception of the communication of Mr. Stanton was announced at the Speaker's desk and created considerable excitement in the House of Representatives. On motion of Mr. Washburne the whole subject was referred to the Committee on Reconstruction with leave to report at any time. Gen. Butler soon after moved to rescind the order of the House devoting the session on Saturday to debate only so as to enable the House to consider the question of impeachment. That motion was carried by a strict party vote on a call of the yeas and nays. Mr. Covode then rose in his seat and introduced a resolution to impeach the President for high crimes and misdemeanors. That resolution was at once referred to the Committee on Reconstruction. The House then adjourned to meet on to-morrow, when the subject of impeachment will probably be taken up and determined.

On the reception of the communication of Mr. Stanton in the Senate, that body went into Executive session to consider what course should be pursued. After a long and stormy session, lasting until nearly ten o'clock in the evening, a resolution was passed and communicated to Mr. Johnson and Secretary Stanton denouncing the act of removal as in violation of law. It passed by a vote of 29 to 6. So the Senate have already declared by a vote of more than two thirds that Andrew Johnson has violated the laws of the land.

During the afternoon and evening, intense excitement prevailed throughout the city, and ten thousand wild and extravagant rumors were set in circulation relative to the course and action of the President in the matter. It seemed to be generally expected that early on to-morrow he would endeavor to eject Mr. Stanton from the War Office by force. Others again supposed Gen. Thomas would take possession during the night in the absence of the Secretary. Secretary Stanton was in the office until ten o'clock this evening, and it is supposed by his friends that he will not leave until the action of the House on the subject of impeachment to-morrow.

There is now no excuse left the House for further neglecting to take steps to remove a bad President. Hitherto timid members have excused themselves for voting against impeachment on the ground that the Senate could not be depended upon to convict. Now the case is changed. The Senate has declared the President a violater of law by more than a two-thirds vote. That result was received with manifestations of joy by the original friends of impeachment and is believed to have strengthened the feeble knees of timid members, and made the Republican party a unit on that measure.

Hon. Henry Wilson this evening admitted the time had come for prompt action on the part of the House. He declared he had hitherto opposed impeachment because he doubted the expediency of the measure, and feared its influence upon the prosperity of the country. He says he is now satisfied there is no other remedy, and if Mr. Johnson is permitted longer to go on in his course, the peace of the country and work of restoration will be endangered. Other Senators and Representatives hitherto opposing impeachment, this evening openly express their opinions to the same effect. I think impeachment will be voted to-morrow. Both Houses of Congress will be in session and important work may be expected. It now looks as if the day of redemption was drawing nigh. I shall to-morrow write again, and keep you informed of all of importance that takes place. CHARLES E. MOSS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 22, 1868.

Early this morning Gen. Lorenzo Thomas was taken into custody under a bench warrant issued by Judge Carter for a violation of the Tenure of Office bill. He gave bonds for his appearance on Monday to answer to the charge. So the new Secretary of War instead of taking possession of the War Office, is himself taken possession of by the U. S. Marshal as a violater of law.

The excitement has lost none of its force during the interval that has elapsed since the adjournment of the Senate last evening. People commenced filling the galleries of the House as early as nine o'clock, and at the time of the meeting of the Representatives at twelve o'clock not a vacant seat was left for any one to occupy. Ladies came early, bringing with them their knitting for an all day's tarry. Men, women, boys and maidens of all shades of color, all curious to see and hear, graced the occasion with their presence, intensely interested in the result of the deliberations of our American House of Representatives on the question of ordering the Chief Magistrate of the Republic on trial for crimes and misdemeanors. More than five thousand persons found it impossible to gain access to the galleries, and were compelled to leave. On no previous occasion has so large a crowd of spectators ever looked in upon the proceedings of the House of Representatives.

At about half-past ten o'clock representatives began to assemble and gather in knots, talking over the occurrences of the past twenty-four hours, and it was soon ascertained that the Republican members were pretty nearly a unit in their determination to impeach Andrew Johnson of high crimes and misdemeanors. They all agreed that matters had now assumed a position requiring prompt and thorough action, and every one believed that action should be the removal of the principal obstacle in the way of a speedy restoration of the Union, and every one appeared to be equal to the emergency.

During all this time the Committee on Reconstruction was in session considering the matters referred to them. It soon became generally understood that the Committee had agreed to report a resolution favoring impeachment. The result finally proved that understanding well founded.

At precisely twelve o'clock the Speaker appeared in his desk and the Chaplain offered up an appropriate prayer, petitioning the Great Ruler of the Universe to grant the representatives of the people wisdom and strength to meet the high responsibilities of their station. That prayer met a favorable response in the hearts of the immense throng of people present.

As soon as the journal was read, the House transacted some important business, until about half past two o'clock, when the venerable Thaddeus Stevens appeared in his seat. All eyes were immediately turned toward him, expecting soon to hear officially announced the action of the Reconstruction Committee, of which he was Chairman. As soon as order was completely restored the venerable old man rose in his place and sent to the Speaker's desk a report signed by seven out of the nine members of that Committee, accompanied with a resolution declaring that Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors.

Mr. Stevens declared he did not design making any speech in support of the resolution, until the time arrived for closing the debate. Brooks, of New York, then took the floor and delivered a speech full of threatening and slaughter, declaring what great things the Democratic party would do in case Congress carries into effect the impeachment of the President.

Mr. Bingham replied to Brooks in a very eloquent, logical and able speech, surpassing in many respects any and all his former efforts. He atoned amply for his former timidity, and received, very justly, the encomiums of every Radical in the House. The whole party is now a unit, and every Radical should now heartily support that party in its final and successful contest with Conservatism. There is now no more need of censuring the timid and the conservative, as they are all now brought up to the Radical stand-point. The conservative Republican is now laboring side-by-side with the Radicals, and we must all bid Bingham, Woodbridge, Spaulding and all God speed in the good work. To-day has been an eventful day in Washington, and it would have done even Phillips good to have looked in upon the House and seen Bingham and Spaulding and Woodbridge and Blaine standing along side of Boutwell and Butler and Severence and old Thad. Stevens, fighting the grandest Radical battle ever yet made in an American House of Representatives.

At four and a half o'clock the House agreed to take a vote on Monday afternoon at five o'clock. That vote will be a strict party vote, and the fate of Andrew Johnson is now sealed. Radicals need no more censure their timid friends. All true friends of freedom in Congress are now fighting gallantly, and are equally agreed that Radicalism shall hereafter rule the White House. Bingham and Kelley, Woodbridge and Boutwell are all doing a noble work, and now let our strong-minded, advanced Radicals give nothing but words of encouragement until the enemy of the Republic is hurled from power.

Mr. Editor, this has been a glorious day. Freedom is now nerved up for its last grand contest with rebellion and reaction. The forces were all marshalled under the gallant commander, and opened the battle most gallantly. Victory is sure, and on the first day of April next, Radical Old Ben Wade will be seated on the throne of power and demonstrate the superior excellences of Radical rule.

Let every friend of freedom heartily rejoice—for the day of deliverance has come.

CHARLES E. MOSS.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 24, 1868.

During the day, yesterday, the city was kept in a blaze of excitement, by the circulation of one thousand and one idle rumors of the arrest of officials and military personages, and details of plots and counter plots and every conceivable story of bloody encounter between the friends of the President and those of Congress. It is useless for me to say there was no foundation for either the rumors or fears of collision between the different parties to the present great contest for supremacy in the American Republic. All passed off quietly, and the citizens slept soundly until the sunlight beam announced the dawn of another morning.

The contents of the morning papers were not at all calculated to allay the already intensified excitement of a very excitable population. Everybody immediately commenced discussing the events of the past twenty-four hours, and the probable result of the vote of the House on the resolution to impeach the President. No one seemed to doubt its passage, or the final conviction and removal of the President, and all parties seemed to believe it were better it should be so than to longer protract the present bitter and unprofitable contest between the legislative and executive branches of the government.

At eight o'clock the people began to wend their way to the Capitol, and by half-past nine o'clock not a seat was left unoccupied, and thousands were standing in the entry ways and approaches to the doors of the gallery, unable to gain admission. On no former occasion has so vast a crowd of citizens witnessed the proceedings of the House of Representatives. The beauty, intellect, and refinement of the city was there, and men from every State and Territory and section of the nation were looking on with intense interest upon the action of the House upon a measure that could not but affect the interests of the nation and honor of the Republic.

At ten o'clock, a. m., precisely, the Speaker took the chair and announced the hour had arrived to which the House had taken a recess, and the question before that body was the resolution reported by the Reconstruction Committee proposing to impeach the President, and that upon that, the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Ashley, had the floor. Mr. Ashley then took the floor, and in a speech of thirty minutes made a strong and logical argument in favor of the passage of that resolution. He very justly remarked that history would write down the attempted removal of Secretary Stanton as the smallest, or among the very smallest, of his many crimes. There was not one intelligent man in the vast throng of spectators in the gallery that did not, from the inmost recesses of his heart, subscribe to the truthfulness of that opinion. There was not a person of intelligence in that vast assemblage of intellect and beauty but thought many representatives belittled the proceedings, by basing it upon a simple violation of law in removing an officer against the plain provisions of positive statute, instead of arraigning him for his crimes against humanity, his violation of the rights of American citizens, his base betrayal of the loyal people that entrusted him with power, and his criminal attempt to overthrow the liberties of the nation. But far be it from me to quarrel with any one for the reasons that lead him to vote for a just measure, and one required by the necessities of the times and safety of the nation. It is enough for me to know that he reaches a just conclusion, without scrutinizing the soundness of the reasoning by which he was led to that conclusion.

There is one singular feature in the whole proceeding. That is, the position of the Democratic members of the House. It used to be Democratic doctrine, that the provisions of the national Constitution should be construed strictly, and no powers taken by implication. Construed by that strict rule, and every Democrat acting honestly would be compelled to vote for impeaching the President for violating the provisions of the national Constitution. There is no express provision of the national Constitution granting the right of removing officers, appointed by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, during the session of that body. There being no express authority granted the President, in the Constitution, for that purpose, it follows, that, according to Democratic authority, Mr. Johnson violated the Constitution of the nation, in removing Mr. Stanton from office during the session of the Senate. That is the logic of Democracy, and the Radicals of the House are the true democrats of that body. But no one expects the members of this House who claim to be Democrats, to have any regard for democratic ideas and usages.

A band of deserters and camp followers from the old Whig ranks, who have taken possession of the abandoned Democratic camp, to clothe themselves in the old rags and broken shoes, and feed upon the mouldy bread and tainted meat, left behind by the defeated Democracy, in their flight before the advancing hosts of Radicalism, nothing truly democratic, or calculated to revive a respect for democratic usages and traditions, can be expected from them. From Brooks of New York, down to Van Trump of Ohio, and the old Whigs of Kentucky, they are now gobbling about intelligence, and respectability, and compromise, and peace, and renowned ancestry, with as much flippancy as they were used to in the days of Henry Clay and Daniel Webster.

In the course of the debate to-day, Mr. Washburne, of Illinois, took the floor and, in ringing tones of eloquence, hurled back the threats of Mr. Brooks, of New York, with a degree of power seldom equalled in halls of legislation. He declared truly, the longer continuance of Mr. Johnson in power is a continual disturbance of the public peace. It was refreshing to the true radicals of the House to thus witness the different conservative Republicans wheeling into line, ready to engage in the approaching contest. As one after another of the former foes of impeachment announced their intention to vote for that measure, the excitement increased in intensity, and the pleasure of the audience became more apparent, and when Mr. Wilson, Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, arose in his seat, and announced his determination to vote for the resolution, it was with the utmost difficulty that the warm radical impulse of the audience in the galleries could be restrained from finding expression in cheers, as hearty as were ever given by men on any occasion. The speech of Mr. Wilson was able, eloquent, argumentative, and ingenious, and could not fail to convince the hearer of the propriety and necessity of passing the resolution impeaching a President who has become not only a disturber of the public peace, but a criminal violator of law.

Mr. Woodbridge, of Vermont, followed Mr. Wilson on the same side. He declared, in clear and emphatic language, that the time had now come when he should vote for impeachment, and in a speech of great ingenuity and power, proceeded to demonstrate, as clear as argument can demonstrate, the fact, that the action of the President was criminal, and in violation of law, and required the prompt action of the House of Representatives. It would have cheered the heart of all the old abolitionists to have witn

opposition were puerile and frivolous in the extreme.

Fernando Wood followed Gen. Butler in a speech remarkable for its fiery denunciation and extreme copperhead utterances. According to him credit would be destroyed, commerce ruined, manufacturing industry prostituted, and every horrible, bloody evil known in heaven above, or earth beneath, or hell under the earth would be sure to befal this nation if the House should presume to commence proceedings for removing a President too criminal to be longer tolerated, and too corrupt to be longer trusted.

Various other members spoke on the occasion, and some fifty or so obtained leave to print their remarks in the *Globe*. Thus passed the time of the House until half past four o'clock, when the venerable commoner, Hon. Thaddeus Stevens took the floor to close the debate. A considerable confusion then ensued over motions to suspend rules and questions of order. Finally the venerable old man gave Mr. Washburne a small portion of his time. At twenty minutes previous to five, the commoner, too feeble to deliver a speech, sent to the clerk's desk one well written, and worthy the leader of a great party, managing one of the most important proceedings ever originated in a legislative body. It was argumentative, eloquent and in many respects characteristic. The old man seemed inspired with the spirit of the occasion, and the language of his speech was such as one would expect from one grown old in the service of his country, and who, like Paul of old had fought a good fight and was ready to die in the harness. That he may live to see his efforts in behalf of liberty abundantly successful is the prayer of thousands of loyal hearts. The great debate on the resolution has been able and creditable. The speeches of Wilson, Butler, Boutwell and Bingham were fine specimens of legal reasoning and creditable to them as statesmen and jurists. At last the iron tongue of the clock struck five, and the House of Representatives proceeded to vote upon the resolutions, and as the clerk proceeded with the roll call a feeling of breathless anxiety pervaded all present. At last the speaker in clear, plain terms announced that the vote stood 126 yeas and 47 nays.

In speaking of the discussion I cannot refrain from stating that Mr. Boutwell was truly and sublimely eloquent. His effort would have been worthy of a Webster in his palmiest days.

Thus was concluded the work of the House in the launching of the process of impeachment. The loyal men of the nation may now rest assured that ere April arrives, an honest Radical will occupy the White House, and Radical ideas rule the nation. For this glorious result the nation will be indebted to Radical men, who, with The Standard, believe it is more important to secure the triumph of freedom than to hold office.

Charles E. Moss.

JOHNSON IMPEACHED!

THE VOTE.

At the close of the memorable debate on Impeachment, of which our Washington correspondent gives an interesting account, the House then proceeded, amid tremendous but suppressed excitement, to vote on the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors.

During the vote, excuses were made for the absence of Messrs. Robinson (Dem., N. Y.), Benjamin (Rep., Mo.), Washburne (Rep., Ill.), Williams (Rep., Ind.), Van Horn (Rep., Mo.), Trimble (Rep., Tenn.), Pomeroy (Rep., N. Y.), Donnelly (Rep., Minn.), Koontz (Rep., Pa.), Maynard (Rep., Tenn.), and Shellaberger (Rep., Ohio).

The Speaker could not consent that his constituents should be silent on so grave an occasion, and, therefore, as a member of the House, he voted Yea.

The vote resulted—Yeas, 126, Nays, 47, as follows:

YEAS.

Allison,	Griswold,	Paine,
Ames,	Halsey,	Perham,
Anderson,	Harding,	Peters,
Arnell,	Higby,	Pike,
Ashley (Nev.),	Hill,	Pile,
Ashley (Ohio),	Hooper,	Plants,
Bailey,	Hopkins,	Poland,
Baker,	Hubbard (Iowa),	Polsley,
Baldwin,	Hubbard (W. V.)	Price,
Banks,	Hulburd,	Raum,
Beaman,	Hunter,	Robertson,
Beatty,	Ingersoll,	Sawyer,
Benton,	Jenckes,	Schenck,
Bingham,	Judd,	Scofield,
Blaine,	Julian,	Selye,
Blair,	Kelley,	Shanks,
Boutwell,	Kelsey,	Smith,
Broomwell,	Ketcham,	Spalding,
Broomall,	Kitchen,	Starkweather,
Buckland,	Laflin,	Stevens (N. H.),
Butler,	Lawrence (Pa)	Stevens (Pa.),
Cake,	Lawrence (Ohio),	Stokes,
Churchill,	Lincoln,	Taffe,
Clarke (Kan),	Loan,	Taylor,
Clark (Ohio),	Logan,	Trowbridge,
Cobb,	Loughridge,	Twitchell,
Coburn,	Lynch,	Upson,
Cook,	Mallory,	Van Aernam,
Cornell,	Marvin,	Van Horn (N. Y.),
Covode,	McCarthy,	Van Wyck,
Cullum,	McClurg,	Ward,
Dawes,	Mercur,	Washburn (Wis),
Dodge,	Miller,	Washburne (Ill.),
Driggs,	Moore,	Washburn (Mss.),
Eckley,	Moorhead,	Welker,
Eggleston,	Morrill,	Williams (Pa.),
Eliot,	Mullins,	Wilson (Iowa),
Farnsworth,	Myers,	Wilson (Ohio),
Ferris,	Newcomb,	Wilson (Penn.),
Ferry,	Nunn,	Windom,
Fields,	Orth,	Woodbridge,
Gravely,	O'Neill,	The Speaker—126

NAYS.

Adams,	Grover,	Niblack,
Archer,	Haight,	Nicholson,
Axtell,	Holman,	Phelps,
Barnes,	Hotchkiss,	Pruyn,
Barnum,	Hubbard (Conn.),	Randall,
Beck,	Humphrey,	Ross,
Boyer,	Johnson,	Sitgreaves,
Brooks,	Jones,	Stewart,
Burr,	Kerr,	Stone,
Cary (Ind.),	Knott,	Taber,
Chanler,	Marshall,	Trumble (Ky.),
Eldridge,	McCormick,	Van Auken,
Fox,	McCullough,	Van Trump,
Getz,	Morgan,	Wood,
Gloisbrenner,	Morrissey,	Woodward—47.
Golladay,	Mungen,	

ANALYSIS OF THE VOTE.

THOSE WHO VOTED FOR IMPEACHMENT.

Maine, 5—James G. Blaine, John Lynch, John A. Peters, Frederick A. Pike, Sidney Perham.

New Hampshire, 2—Aaron F. Stevens, Jacob Benton.

Vermont, 3—Luke P. Poland, Frederick E. Woodbridge, Washington C. Smith.

Massachusetts, 9—Oakes Ames, John D. Baldwin, Nathaniel P. Banks, George S. Boutwell, Benjamin F. Butler, Thomas D. Eliot, Samuel Hooper, Ginery Twitchell,* Wm. B. Washburn.

Rhode Island, 1—Thomas A. Jenckes.*

Connecticut, 1—Henry H. Starkweather.

New York, 10—Alex. H. Bailey, John C. Churchill, Thomas Cornell,* Orange Ferris, William C. Fields, John A. Griswold, Calvin T. Hulburd, William H. Kelsey, John H. Ketcham, Addison H. Laflin, William S. Lincoln, James M. Marvin, Dennis McCarthy, Wm. H. Robertson, Lewis Selye*, Henry Van Aernam, Burt Van Horn*, Chas. H. Van Wyck, Hamilton Ward.

New Jersey, 3—George A. Halsey, John Hill, William Moore.*

Pennsylvania, 16—John M. Broomall, Henry L. Cake*, John Covode, William D. Kelley, George V. Lawrence, Ulysses Mercer, George F. Miller, James K. Moorehead, Daniel J. Morrill, Leonard Myers, Charles O'Neill, Glenni W. Scofield, Thaddeus Stevens, Caleb N. Taylor, Thomas Williams, Stephen F. Wilson.

West Virginia, 3.—Charles D. Hubbard, Daniel Polsley, Bethuel M. Kitchen.*

Ohio, 14.—James M. Ashley, A. H. Bailey, John Beatty,* John A. Bingham, Ralph P. Buckland, Reader W. Clark, Ephraim R. Eckley, Benj. Eggleston, William Lawrence, Tobias H. Plants, Robert C. Schenck, Rufus P. Spalding, Martin Welker, John T. Wilson.

Indiana, 6.—John Coburn, Schuyler Colfax*, Morton C. Hunter, George W. Julian, Goodlove S. Orth, John P. C. Shanks.

Michigan, 6.—Fernan C. Beman, Austin Blair*, John F. Driggs, Thos. W. Ferry. R. E. Trowbridge, Chas. Upson.

Illinois, 11.—John Baker, H. P. H. Bromwell, Burton G. Cook, Shelby M. Cullom, John F. Farnsworth, Abner C. Harding, Ebon C. Ingersoll, Norman B. Judd, John A. Logan, Green B. Raum*, E. B. Washburne.

Wisconsin, 5.—Amasa Cobb, Benj. F. Hopkins, Halbert E. Paine, Philetus Sawyer, C. C. Washburne.

Minnesota. 1.—William Windom*.

Iowa, 6.—William B. Allison, Grenville M. Dodge, Ashand W. Hubbard, William Loughridge, Hiram Price, James F. Wilson.

Missouri, 6.—George W. Anderson, John J. Gravely, Benj. F. Loan, Joseph W. McClurg, C. A. Newcomb, William A. Pile.

Tennessee, 4.—Samuel M. Arnell, James Mullins, David A. Nunn, William B. Stokes.

California, 1.—William Higby.

Oregon, 1.—Rufus Mallory.*

Kansas, 1.—Sidney Clarke.

Nevada, 1.—Delos R. Ashley.

Nebraska, 1.—John Taffe.*

[Total voting in the affirmative 126—all Republicans. Those in small capitals voted in the negative on the former Impeachment resolution December 7th, 1867—Those marked with a * were absent or did not vote at that time.]

THOSE VOTING AGAINST IMPEACHMENT.

Connecticut, 3.—*William H. Barnum, Julius Hotchkiss, Richard D. Hubbard.*

New York, 10.—*Demas Barnes,* James Brooks, John W. Chanler, John Fox,* J. M. Humphrey, John Morrissey,* John V. L. Pruyn, Thomas E. Stewart, Stephen Taber, Fernando Wood.*

New Jersey, 2.—*Charles Haight, Charles Sitgreaves.*

Pennsylvania, 6.—*Benj. M. Boyer, J. Lawrence Getz, A. J. Glosbrenner, Samuel J. Randall, D. M. Van Auken, G. W.* Woodward.

Delaware, 1.—*John A. Nicholson.*

Maryland, 4.—*Stevenson Archer, Charles E. Phelps, Hiram McCullough, Frederic E. Stone.*

Ohio, 4.—*George W. Morgan, Phil. Van Trump, William Mungen,* Samuel F. Cary.

Indiana, 3.—*William S. Holman, William E. Niblack, Michael C. Kerr.*

Kentucky, 7.—*George M. Adams, Jas. R. Beck, Jacob S. Golladay, Asa P. Grover, Thomas L. Jones, J. Proctor Knott, Lawrence M. Trimble.**

Illinois, 3.—*Albert G. Burr, Samuel S. Marshall, Lewis W. Ross.*

Missouri, 1.—*James R. McCormick.**

Wisconsin, 1.—*Charles A. Eldridge.*

California, 2.—*Samuel B. Axtell, James A. Johnson.*

[Total voting in the negative 47—all Democrats, except Samuel F. Cary, of Ohio, Ind. Rep. Those marked with * were absent, or did not vote on the former resolution.]

The announcement of the result elicited no manifestation, but the immense audience which had filled the galleries and corridors all the day gradually dispersed, until it was reduced to less than one-fourth its original number.

Mr. Stevens moved to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to, and also moved to lay the motion to reconsider on the table. The latter motion was agreed to, this being the parliamentary mode of making a decision final.

Thaddeus Stevens then moved the following resolutions:

Resolved, That a Committee of two be appointed to go to the Senate, and at the bar thereof, in the name of the House of Representatives, and of all the people of the United States, to impeach Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors in office, and acquaint the Senate that the House of Representatives will, in due time, exhibit particular articles of impeachment against him, and make good the same, and that the Committee do demand that the Senate take order for the appearance of said Andrew Johnson to answer said impeachment.

Resolved, That a Committee of seven be appointed to prepare and report articles of impeachment against Andrew Johson, President of the United States, with power to send for persons, papers and records, and to take testimony under oath.

Democratic members attempted to resort to fillibustering, but were cut off after an ineffectual effort by a motion to suspend the rules so as to bring the House immediately to a vote on the resolutions. The rules were suspended and the resolutions were adopted—Yeas, 124; Nays, 42. The Speaker then announced the Committee as follows:

Committee of two to announce to the Senate the action of the House—Messrs. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and Bingham, of Ohio. Committee of seven to prepare articles of impeachment—Messrs. Boutwell, of Massachsetts; Stevens, of Pennsylvania; Bingham, of Ohio; Wilson, of Iowa; Logan, of Illinois; Julian, of Indiana; and Ward, of New York.

The House then, at 6:20 p.m., adjourned.

IMPEACHED BEFORE THE SENATE.

At one o'clock on Tuesday the Doorkeeper of the Senate announced a Committee of the House of Representatives, and Messrs. Stevens and Bingham entered and stood facing the President pro tem, while many members of the House ranged themselves in a semicircle behind.

When order had been restored, Mr. Stevens read in a firm voice as follows:

"Mr. President: *In obedience to the order of the House of Representatives, we have appeared before you, and in the name of the House of Representatives and of all the people of the United States, we do impeach Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors in office; and we further inform the Senate that the House of Representatives will in due time exhibit particular articles of impeachment against him, and make good the same; and in their name we demand that the Senate take due order for the appearance of the said Andrew Johnson, to answer to the said Impeachment.*"

The President *pro tem.*—The Senate will take order in the premises.

Mr. Stevens, having then been furnished with a chair, sat in the same spot whence he had addressed the Chair.

After a brief delay, Mr. Howard offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Message of the House of Representatives, relating to the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, be referred to a select committee of seven to consider the same and report thereon.

The resolution was adopted by the Senate, and Messrs. Stevens and Bingham retired and returned to the House, and were followed by the multitude of members who had quit their seats to see the Impeachment fairly under way in the Upper House.

The presiding officer of the Senate appointed as the Select Committee called for by Mr. Howard's resolution on impeachment—Messrs. Howard, Trumbull, Conkling, Edmunds, Morton, Pomeroy and Johnson.

It is now (Wednesday) confidently expected that articles of impeachment will be presented to the House on Friday or Saturday, and reach the Senate on Monday next. Of their adoption by the Senate there seems now little doubt.

Our Washington Correspondence.

Washington, Feb. 25th, 1868.

For this hour, those among us who felt it must come, have waited many months. Some have felt the thickening shadows of civil war closing about our lives, and seeing only one remedy, have not despaired, but dreaded the future with inexpressible anguish. Their dread arose from the dilatory and faltering course pursued here. It seems to be a feature of Democracies that there shall be hesitation; that Republican institutions must bear long strains before remedies for evils are applied. But to-day we feel that the future is very nearly assured. I say "very nearly," because Senatorial politicians are uncertain persons. A month ago I wrote you that the good ship "Impeachment" would soon be launched again, and this time to reach a certain and secure harbor. I have never doubted that to "this complexion must it come at last." Yet I confess I did not expect to see it so soon. At a later day, when the strain would be greater, I anticipated that this action must come. But obstinate as I conceive Johnson to be, brutal; malignant, and devilish as he evidently is, it did not seem possible that he would have been so remarkably unwise as the character of the act and the manner of its execution proves him to be.

I shall not write of the debate, of the scenes in the city, of the wild rumors, of the wilder threats, and jubilant gratulations that fall about us, thicker than Autumn leaves before a November wind. That you can gather from the daily papers, and if not, I am too much exhausted with the reaction which follows so long-continued a strain as this has been. Let me rather briefly give you of the inside gossip I hear about Senators and others.

In the first place, then, there is little doubt that some of the Chief-Justice's friends would like to have that high functionary place obstacles in the way of a speedy trial. But all this talk is idle. There is not the slightest doubt that when duly notified, the Chief-Justice will duly take his place as presiding officer of the High Court of Impeachment.

There is now strong a effort making to get Senators to delay trial until after the District Court shall have rendered a decision on the case now before it through the arrest of Gen. Lorenzo Thomas. But this will fail, though there are not wanting Republican Senators who talk of the "dignity of delay," etc. The President has, however, fallen so low that none care to do him reverence, and these efforts will be of no avail. There is not the slightest doubt but that this insensate fool deemed he could do any act with impunity. It is too true, and a pity it's true, but the House of Representatives needed to be kicked into vindicating the honor of the Nation and Congress. We are grateful for the insanity which kicked against the pricks, but do not fail to remember how much of that salutary process the Republican party has had to undergo, and at what a costly rate we have paid for Johnson's exorcise.

Only one Senator on the Republican side is, however, deemed at all doubtful. That one I regret to name, because he represents a radical State, and has hitherto borne an unstained record. Suspicion rests upon Senator Ross, of Kansas, who is known to be altogether too much for his own good under the influence of Gen. Thomas Ewing, Jr., now of this city, but formerly of Kansas, and at one time Major Ross's Colonel. Ewing is one of the most violent and revolutionary of the President's kitchen cabinet, and he is known to have, in many matters, great influence with the Senator I have named. Considerable discussion is now going on about the position of Mr. Ross, and it is feared that, unless his spinal column be strengthened, he may go the same road that his predecessor, Gen. Lane, travelled.

Mr. Johnson acted without advice or consultation here with any of his friends. They were more surprised than the Radicals. A friend of Secretary Seward's stated that on Saturday that gentleman showed more despondency than he has done at any time since 1861. He hung his head, and acknowledged that it was in shame as Johnson's follower. Mr. Stanbery was as much surprised and disappointed. When on Saturday morning Thomas appeared in his office under arrest, he was curtly told by the Attorney-General that he could not appear for defence. The disapproval of Robert J. Walker has greatly dampened the Democratic ardor.

No one at all conversant with Mr. Johnson's character doubts that he had determined to take possession of the War Department by force, if necessary. He did not anticipate such action as Congress took at once. The army was found to be against him, and the precautions of Army Headquarters would have headed off any movement of the kind. The truth is, Johnson's blunder is so great that one cannot help laughing at it. Nobody's going to fight for the ridiculous. They might for what makes it so, but not for the laughter.

My judgment is, from all that can be learned, that the trial will begin on Monday or Tuesday next; that it will last from ten to fifteen days, unless the managers shall commit the folly of going behind the record, now so plain, to bring up other charges which are controverted. I am not a prophet, nor the son of one, but I venture to declare now, that within thirty days Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, will be installed at the White House.

The Southern questions will then be settled. The policy of the country will be decided upon for the next five years, and we shall have time to do the work clamoring so loudly for execution, to radically reconstruct the material and economic organization of the South.

It is understood that Senator Pomeroy, of Kansas, will in all probability be elected President, *pro tem.*, of the Senate, when the gallant Wade shall be promoted. Cabinet officers are even talked of, and among those suggested as likely to receive consideration, are the honored names of Gen. Fremont and Thomas C. Durant. That either should enter a Cabinet would be too great a good to be now hoped for.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, February 23, 1868.

I gave you, last week, a report of the few salient expressions of disapproval, by members of the Boston Tract Society, of the plan, now completed, for making it subordinate to the American Tract Society at New York. These expressions (in accordance with the general policy of the management of our Tract Society, as of yours) were omitted from the official report, which covers a page and a half of the *Congregationalist*; and the objections of the dissenting members were veiled in brief and vague expressions, although a phonographic report of *all* the speeches was taken, and the remarks of those who favored the concessions to the New York Society were printed in full. This perhaps was so much a matter of course as not to be worth mentioning; but I notice it on account of the impudent pretence made in the editorial columns of the same paper, that the report was a *full* and a *fair* one. There was no fairness in it; the whole discussion being so ingeniously "doctored" (or doctor-of-divinitied) in the report, that the members of the Boston Society will never know the truth in regard to it; will never know that a minority of their number charged the New York Society with continuing that same viciousness in principle and dishonesty in practice which, nine years ago, caused the separation.

The unworthiness of the management of the Boston Society (and therefore of the Society itself which chooses to set such men up to represent it) is shown by their acceptance and adoption of the report of the Committee of twenty-five, without a single objection being raised to the representation of their position contained in the following sentence:

"The two Societies, in consequence of the providence of God in the civil war, have drifted round, so that, instead of being essentially different in their views and their treatment of that subject [slavery], or of any other subject, they are essentially the same."

One Society left the other nine years ago, because the latter used dishonest practices to accomplish an evil end; and now the chief mover in the separation explains his proposal to reunite by saying that *both* Societies have so "drifted round" as to find themselves pursuing the same course. Just think of an habitually fraudulent person *drifting* into a course of honesty! Then think of one who, nine years ago, broke off partnership with a swindler on account of his habit of lying and cheating, now begging the latter again to take him into partnership, and alleging as the reason, that, "in the providence of God," they had *drifted* towards each other, and that a new business alliance between them would benefit "the cause of Christ!!"

Truly, "other-worldliness" seems not a great deal better than worldliness.

One noteworthy result of the new arrangement is that, as the New York and Boston tract-publishing houses have agreed to give each other's publications all manner of reciprocal accommodation, the Boston house will be obliged to keep for sale the stereotyped editions of those republications of English books and tracts from which all sentences denouncing slavery were carefully erased, and the mutilation of which formed one of the strong reasons for the secession of Boston in 1859. And the Boston managers will very cheerfully comply with this obligation, for a portion of their customers will like those publications better, and will consider them as having a more "evangelical" savor. I think I see the old church-members of Parsons Blagden and South-side Adams looking with special care for the New York imprint when they get their supply of tracts for distribution.

Our Legislature, who were chosen mainly to establish a license law, or provide some other means by which intoxicating drink might be freely bought and sold, have the subject under consideration, but seem not able to agree upon the details. The debate has taken a wide range, and, since one section of the license-bill under discussion provides that a rum-license shall confer no authority to sell "during any part of the Lord's day"—a provision which secures for the bill the support of a good many pious people—one member of the House has moved to strike out this section, and has made a speech more than an hour long against the Sunday law, which he proved to be unconstitutional and unscriptural. This move was made by Mr. Nathaniel C. Nash, who, when Alderman, in several preceding years, exerted himself to regain those rights of the people which the Sunday law now interferes with. Considerable portions of Mr. Nash's argument were reported by the daily press, and he will immediately publish the whole of it in a pamphlet, which will be a very useful document in this and other States when agitation shall be made for the repeal of the Sunday law. The speech quotes largely from Chief-Justice Read's late very important decision in Pennsylvania, and gives strong testimony from Scripture and from the great Protestant reformers against the church pretence that Christianity enjoins the observance of Sunday as a Sabbath.

Our young Irish sculptor, Mr. Milmore, who succeeded so well in the colossal statues which adorn the front of Horticultural Hall, has now given us a new statue of life-size, or a trifle larger. It is designed for the Soldiers' Monument at Forest Hills Cemetery, and represents a private, in the Federal uniform, leaning on his musket, and with a face of serious gravity, befitting alike the stern demands of war, and the burial-place where the statue is ultimately to stand. It is temporarily placed in front of the City Hall for public inspection, and seems to gain universal approval. It is of bronze, cast at the Chickopee Foundry, and will add to the fame of the artist, whose fine bead of Sumner is one of the most satisfactory of our busts of public men.

North.

FOR THE STANDARD.

ASPIRATIONS.

BY WM. P. TOMLINSON.

The lark climbs up the ether stair,
The dew upon his dusky wing,
And all the songs he seems to sing
Are lost in voiceless depths of air.

Our aspirations mount as far,
Our longings are as little heard,
As the faint warblings of a bird
Within the orbit of a star.

Yet still the bird of heaven sings,
Though none of earth may catch the strain,
And though the note be all in vain,
Song to the singer solace brings.

New York, Feb. 21st, 1868.

MISS HOLLEY IN CONNECTICUT.

LETTER FROM MISS CAROLINE F. PUTNAM.

Lakeville, in Salisbury, Conn., February, 11, 1868.

Dear Mr. Powell: This charming nook of Connecticut is ground seldom or never trod by an Anti-Slavery lecturer before. These beautiful hills and lakes are inspirations to poets and preachers who work for human good and John Pierpont, the Beechers and the Holleys are eloquent names. And amid this rural loveliness their responsive souls grew, from childhood, to the love of God and man. It was in this Litchfield county, Lyman Beecher first preached his famous "Six Sermons on Intemperance" that roused the New England conscience against the hideous iniquity, then, as now, so fearfully swallowing up the hope and promise of manhood. And, most glorious fame of all, it is the birth-place of Freedom's grand martyr, *Old John Brown.*

"He has sounded forth the trumpet that shall never call retreat:
He is sifting out the hearts of men before His judgment seat:
Oh, be swift, my soul, to answer Him! be jubilant my feet!
Our God is marching on."

For the first time in her life Miss Holley visits the home of her ancestors. Ex-Gov. Holley and his amiable family greeted us with every hospitable welcome to their delightful residence.

Sunday evening, the old-fashioned church, with three galleries around, was all crowded full of people, cousins and second cousins, playmates of her father and uncles, and a few old people, neighbors of her grandfather, came to hear a Holley speak. They listened with unflagging attention to the close. She told them the only hope for Connecticut and the nation is Justice to the black man. Only he that walketh *uprightly* walketh *securely.* Not till equal rights were dealt impartially, without respect to color, could there be any true peace and safety in the land. She declared it the shame and disgrace of Connecticut that she, of all the New England States, is guilty of refusing the ballot to her loyal colored citizens.

As we are taken about to the spots of dear and hallowed association, we meet along the way, loads of iron ore going to the railroad, or washed, ready for the furnace; for this is a curious *mining* region. The deep cuts and ravines are made through a soil that bears fruit orchards, and rich pasturage and grain on its surface, while the best iron in the world is dug from beneath. The wheels for the Egyptian railroad, and one in Chili, and for England even are made of it, as well as the toughest anchors and chain-cables for the navy. Salisbury iron, for purposes requiring tenacity, is superior to that of Russia or Sweden. Here, in these furnaces, were made the first cannon and shot of the Revolution, and the guns of "Old Ironsides" "were tried on that field."

Gov. Jonathan Trumbull was prompt to aid *the Cause* with these indispensable supplies. General Washington liked to consult his clear mind, and from Washington's so frequently asking "What does *Brother Jonathan* say?" came the droll synonym of our country, "*Brother Jonathan.*" Lakeville, too, is the Sheffield of spring cutlery, pocket-knives, etc. "We don't turn our backs on any manufactures *in the world*," replied the founder of this successful enterprise, when asked how these products compare with others. "Our only difficulty in competing with foreign markets is, that while Sheffield laborers are hired for fifty cents a day, we pay ours two dollars."

This Yankee energy and industry, with its results is what so astonished Cassius M. Clay, and made him declare "when I was a student at Yale College and saw the Connecticut people getting a thrifty, independent, and even a luxurious living off from a soil that in Kentucky would be considered the high road to poverty and famine, then I felt the difference that slavery makes in the prosperity of a people."

We met at Gov. Holley's a travelled English lady, to whom "sledge-riding" and a New England Winter is wholly a novelty, and the similar wild sylvan scenery of Wales a familiarity. She is the wife of J. E. Hilary Skinner, the gentleman who has been recently speaking in New England and in Washington for the Cretans. Mr. and Mrs. S. were with Dr. Howe in Greece. They now hope to collect money enough in the United States to establish a field-hospital for the wounded in the Spring; for this noble people will still struggle against the Turk, and their principal help must come from this country. Mrs. S. spoke with grateful enthusiasm of the kind, hearty interest Mr. Wendell Phillips took in her husband's mission, aiding him with valuable suggestions and introduction. She said "Mr. Phillips knows the cause so thoroughly." Her zeal and interest in the Cretans was so genuine; she fully sympathised with the Anti-Slavery purpose to secure the colored man in America in substantial freedom. She referred to Longfellow's Anti-Slavery poems; said she was quoting in a cultivated Boston circle some eloquent lines, and when asked the author, repled "It is your own Longfellow." "I am sure it is not," said they, and consulted their own copies without finding them, to the great surprise of these English friends. We explained how slavery ruled American literature, and kept these fine poems out of the popular editions.

C. F. P.

MRS. ROCKWOOD IN CAMBRIDGE.

Boston, Feb. 18, 1868.

To the Editor of the Standard:

Mrs. Ella Davis Rockwood delivered her lecture, entitled "Young America," before the "Harvard Associates," at Cambridgeport, Mass., on Monday evening, February 17. This is decidedly the best lecture she has written, and shows much thoughtful care in preparation. The vices of the so-called "Young America"—his rudeness, his selfishness, his dissipated habits, his criminal indifference to the welfare of his country, shown in his contempt for all the great questions of reform now agitating the public—were exposed and condemned with no smooth phrases or honeyed words. But these vices belonged to the sham, the veneer, the tinsel, not to the *true* Young America. The true Young America were the masses, the men who built roads over quicksands, tunnelled lakes, suspended bridges in mid-air, and performed all other possible and *impossible* things. It was not the colleges or seminaries of learning, with their musty theories and fossil professors, on which the reformer could rest his hopes for the future of his country, these have always been stumbling-blocks in the way of true progress, but upon the people—uneducated, if you please to call them so—with their strong common sense.

The lecture was full of good points, and was well received. The lecturer, being young and enthusiastic, brought to her subject freshness and vigor, and her evident sincerity and earnestness ensured her attentive listeners, and, we hope, gained her many converts.

Tree.

A PEACE CONVENTION AT WASHINGTON.

The Universal Peace Society held a two days meeting in Harmonial Hall, Washington, on the 30th and 31st ult. The President, Alfred H. Love, of Philadelphia, presided, and Mrs. Rachel Love, Father Beeson, Joshua Hutchinson, L. K. Joslin and James M. Peebles were among those present. Letters were read from Mrs. M. S. Townsend, one of the Vice-Presidents, Ezra H. Haywood, Sarah B. Dugdale and others. Resolutions affirming that the foundation rock of religion is peace; that all men have an inalienable right to life; that the true intent of government is peace; that suffrage should be universal, and others, were adopted. Speeches were made, at different stages of the meeting, by Alfred H. Love, L. K. Joslin, Mrs. J. S. Griffing, James M. Peebles and others, and the proceedings enlivened by singing from Joshua Hutchinson. The next meeting will be held in New York, the anniversary week of May next.

OBITUARY.

THOMAS BORTON.

Only a few weeks since, a paper messenger full of love and friendship greeted us in our Western home from the pen of Thomas Borton, of Kennett Square, in Chester county, Pa. To-day he is no more on earth. For more than thirty years we have known and loved him. During the conflict with the slave power, in the dark days when it *cost* something in Church and State to be an Abolitionist, this dear and honored friend was among the truest, and steadfast always found. When "the Black Law of Ohio" fined and imprisoned all those convicted of aiding fugitives from the prison house of bondage, this good Samaritan never hesitated a moment. The night was never so dark, or the danger so threatning, but he would breast the danger and help the weary wanderers on their way. The last fifteen years of his life were spent in Pennsylvania, and although his devotion was not exhibited in the same way, on account of increasing years, yet to the end of his upright and useful life he remained a lover of human liberty, and did all he could to secure it to all the race, regardless of sect, sex, or color. Peace to the memory of this saint of God. Very near the time the pearl gates opened to receive the blessed and beloved James Mott, the angel touched the lips of Thomas Borton, and, at fourscore in time, they have become angels who will ever be young in immortal life, and continue to approach nearer and nearer the heart of the infinite God. "The memory of the just is blessed."

Joseph A. Dugdale.

Annesley, near Mt. Pleasant, Iowa, Feb. 15, 1868.

MARRIED.

Fish—Vanderbeck.—On December 31st, at the residence of the bride's mother, by the Rev. Asa Saxe, George Thompson Fish and Elizabeth Louisa Vanderbeck, daughter of Mrs. Susan Vanderbeck, all of Rochester, N. Y.

LITERARY.

We find in a late interesting English work, Jeaffreson's "Book about Lawyers," a touching anecdote of Lord Eldon, one of the few green spots in that Tory and, seemingly, heartless life.

"When satire has done its worst with the miserly propensities of Lord Eldon and his wife, their long familiar intercourse exhibits a wealth of fine humor, affection, and genuine poetry which sarcasm cannot touch. Often as he had occasion to regret Lady Eldon's peculiarities—the stinginess which made her grudge the money paid for a fish or a basket of fruit; her nervous repugnance to society, which greatly diminished her popularity; and the taste for solitude and silence which marked her painfully towards the close of her life—the Chancellor never even hinted to her his dissatisfaction. When their eldest daughter, following her mother's example, married without the permission of her parents, it was suggested to Lord Eldon that her Ladyship ought to take better care of her younger daughter, Lady Frances, and enter society to play the part of a vigilant *chaperon.* The counsel was judicious, but the Chancellor declined to act upon it, saying, 'When she was young and beautiful, she gave up every thing for me. What she is, I have made her; I cannot now bring myself to compel her inclinations. Our marriage and early poverty prevented her mixing in society when it gave her pleasure—it appears to give pain now—what right have I to interpose?' In his old age, when she was dead, he visited his estate in Durham, but could not find heart to cross the Tyne bridge and look at the old house from which he ran away with her in the bloom and tenderness of her girlhood. An urgent invitation to visit Newcastle, drew from him the reply, 'I know my fellow-townsmen complain of my not coming to see them, but *how can I pass that bridge?*' After a pause, he added, 'Poor Bessie! if ever there was an angel on earth she was one. The only reparation which one man can make to another for running away with his daughter, is to be exemplary in his conduct towards her.'"

Further on, in the course of a very full statement of the well-known incident in Hale's life, Mr. Jeaffreson gives some new particulars relative to a frequent custom of "taking the pledge," as long ago as 1670, the reign of Charles II. It seems that even at that early day young men felt how weak resolution often is unless fortified by a vow or pledge.

"In 1660, among the reeling Judges of the Restoration, there moved one venerable lawyer, who, in an age when moralists hesitated to call drunkenness a vice, was remarkable for sobriety. In his youth, whilst he was indulging in youthful pleasures, Chief-Justice Hale was so struck with horror at seeing an intimate friend drop senseless, and apparently lifeless, at a student's drinking bout, that he made a sudden but enduring resolution to conquer his drinking propensities. Falling on his knees, he prayed God to save his friend from death and to strengthen him to keep his newly made resolution. He rose an altered man. But in an age when the barbarous custom of toast-drinking was in full force, he felt that he could not be an habitually sober man if he mingled in society and obeyed a rule which required the man of delicate and excitable nerves to drink as much, bumper for bumper, as the man whose sluggish system could receive a quart of spirits, at a sitting, and yet scarcely experience a change of sensation.

"At that time it was customary with prudent men to protect themselves against a pernicious and tyrannous custom, by taking a vow to abstain from toast-drinking, or even from drinking wine at all, for a certain stated period. Readers do not need to be reminded how often young Pepys was under a vow not to drink; and the device, by which the jovial Admiralty clerk strengthened an infirm will and defended himself against temptation, was frequently employed by right-minded young men of his day. In some cases, instead of *vowing* not to drink, they *bound* themselves not to drink within a certain period; two persons, that is to say, agreeing that they would abstain from wine and spirits for a certain period; and each *binding* himself, in case he broke the compact, to pay over a certain sum of money to his partner in the bond. Young Hale saw that to effect a complete reformation of his life he must give up the practice of drinking healths. He *vowed* that he never would again drink a health, and he kept his vow. In his old age he thus urged his grandchildren to follow his example: 'I will have you never begin or pledge any health; for it is become one of the greatest artifices of drinking and occasions of quarreling in the kingdom. If you pledge one health, you oblige yourself to pledge another and a third and so onward; and if you pledge as many as will be drunk, you must be drunk. If they will needs know the reason of your refusal, it is a fair answer, that your grandfather who brought you up and from whom, under God, you have the estate you enjoy or expect, left this command with you, that you should never begin or pledge a health.'"

Elsie Magoon; or The Old Still House in the Hollow. By Mrs. Frances D. Gage. 12mo. Cloth. 324 pp. With portrait of the author. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co.

In her modest preface to the above story, the author ascribes a local cause for its origin, and adds that she has drawn upon memory only for incidents and characters, but the many admirers of Mrs. Gage's prose need not be told that although purporting to be only "a tale of every day life," in characters portrayed, in unconscious dramatic skill and power of description, it has all the interest of highly wrought fiction.

It is a story of the West in the earlier day. Written specially to inculcate the Moral of Temperance, it yet contains much of the quickening leaven of reform in its pages, additionally valuable from its many pleasant pictures of pioneer life, which the author's long sojourn amid the scenes which she depicts has enabled her to draw to nature. In her conception of characters, Mrs. Gage has been equally fortunate. Elsie Magoon is a sweet creature, enbodying in life and act the author's ideal of maiden, wife and mother; and the character as well as struggle of Lincoln between his dawning love for Elsie and his former associates and fashionable life, are all admirably depicted. The death-scene of Mrs. Truman, the suffering, invalid wife, dying by the side of her sottish, half-insensible husband, and fancying it was her bridal day, is one of real power; and the vice, which has done so much to pauperize and degrade our land, is nowhere more fitly rebuked than in its pages. We bespeak for it all the success which, from its literary merit and life, devoted to reform, of its author, it merits from the public.

W. P. T.

The March Magazines—*Harper's, Putnam's,* and the *Atlantic*—are all on our table. *Harper's* has valuable articles upon "The Minnesota Pineries" and "The Restigouche," a wild tract of Northern New Brunswick; "Survivors of Civilization" and "Sheffield—a Battle-Field of English Labor," both pleasantly written and instructive; a continuation of "The Woman's Kingdom," by Dinah Mulock Craik, and the usual variety of interesting matter. The *Atlantic* concludes "George Silverman's Explanation," by Charles Dickens; contains Part III. of "By-Ways of Europe," by Bayard Taylor; "The Old Philadelphia Library," and other pleasant papers, making a capital number. *Putnam's* has for frontispiece a fine steel engraving of the honored artist, Daniel Huntington, and articles by Dr. Bushnell, Major Joseph Kirkland, Mr. D. G. Croly, Miss Phebe Carey and others, making up the best number that has yet appeared of this monthly.

Our Young Folks for March contains "Holiday Romance, Part II.," by Charles Dickens; "Rover, a story for little people," by Rose Terry; continuations of "Round-the-World Joe;" "Cast Away in the Cold," and "William Henry's Letters to his Grandmother," by their respective authors, with other matter, making up an attractive number.

William P. Tomlinson, publisher, 39 Nassau street, will issue, next week, a neat pamphlet edition of a discourse entitled "Household Foes," by the Rev. O. B. Frothingham. This discourse was published in The Standard a few weeks since. Our edition of that number is exhausted, and we have had many calls for the discourse which we have been unable to supply.

Special Notices.

PUBLISHING AND BOOK FURNISHING AGENCY.

The undersigned respectfully announces that he has established a Publishing and Book Furnishing Agency, and is prepared to execute all orders that may be intrusted to him, with care and promptness. Authors desiring a publisher or wishing their works superintended while in press, will do well to confer with him, as his experience in the business and established connections, afford peculiar facilities for the furtherance of their interests. Works of all established authors furnished at the shortest notice and at the lowest rates. Office 39 Nassau street, Room 43.

P. O. Box 1416, New York city.

William P. Tomlinson.

NOTICE TO CITY SUBSCRIBERS.

The Standard will hereafter be delivered to our subscribers in this city by the carriers of the Post office Department. Should any irregularity occur in its delivery from imperfect addresses, or from any other cause, we hope to be promptly advised. To provide for the necessary prepayment of postage the subscription price will, from this date, be three dollars and fifty cents a year to subscribers within the city limits.

Louis Napoleon, hitherto the carrier of our paper in this city, will act as our Agent, and receive subscriptions and advertisements on account of The Standard.

The Anti-Slavery Office on Fifth street is closed. Persons who have business with the State Society, who wish to pay their subscription for The Standard, or who wish to subscribe for the paper, will please call on the undersigned, who has consented to act as General Agent for a time. E. M. Davis, No, 333 Walnut street, Philadelphia.

The Standard in New Orleans.—The Standard may now be obtained regularly each week in New Orleans of A. Simon, Esq., No. 85 Barome street.

Advertisements.

PRANG'S AMERICAN CHROMOS.

IN OIL AND WATER COLORS.

Prang's American Chromos are fac-simile reproductions of oil and water color paintings; so faithfully and skilfully done that it requires the experience of an expert to detect the difference between them and the originals.

For every purpose of decoration—for parlors, sitting-rooms, drawing-rooms, nurseries, or chambers,—nothing so exquisitely beautiful as these Chromos can be obtained for the same amount of money. No other ornaments of the same cost are so admirably calculated to adorn a home; to cultivate a love for Art among the people at large; to brighten up the dwellings of every class of our citizens; and to teach the rising generation, by their silent yet refining influence, to love the beautiful in Art and in Nature. Hitherto, Art has been aristocratic in its associations, —none but the wealthy classes could afford to buy fine works of art; but chromo-lithography has changed all that, and brought exquisite paintings within the reach of every family. It is doing for Art what the printing-press did Literature. Let no family, henceforth, be without a few classical books, and one or two masterly paintings. Both should be regarded as indispensable to complete a home.

Send for "Prang's Chromo; a Journal of Popular Art," and see what we have done and are doing to popularize Art. It will be sent to you free. Address

L. PRANG & CO., Boston.

ORATORY—SACRED AND SECULAR; OR THE EXTEMPORANEOUS SPEAKER. Including a Chairman's Guide. By Wm. Pittenger. Introduction by the Hon. John A. Bingham. Rules and Methods of Practice, by which Readiness in the Expression of Thought may be acquired, and an acceptable style, both in composition and gesture obtained. One handsome 12mo. vol. of 220 pages, tinted paper, beveled boards. Price, $1 50. S. R. WELLS, Publisher, No. 389 Broadway, New York.

This is believed to be one of the most instructive and practical works yet published.

Miscellaneous Department.

THE WINTER EVENING.

BY DANIEL RICKETSON.

O! PLAY again that grand old tune,
 Resounding far through memory's halls;
Refreshing as the breeze of June
 'Mid songs of birds and waterfalls.

It takes me back to other days,
 When, void of every earthly care,
I sped amid the giddy maze,
 In time to that old favorite air.

How jocund passed the light-winged hours,
 Where youth and beauty led the dance;
Our pathway then was strewn with flowers—
 The happy season of romance.

O! fairy form, O! gentle heart!
 Where have your light and beauty gone?
Do others now like grace impart?
 Or with the past have all these flown?

Ah, no! kind nature keeps her own,
 And youth and beauty take the place
Of those from whom these gifts have gone,
 And are renewed in every race.

And glowing eyes, and waving hair,
 The kindly voice, and lovely smile,
Do still the same attractions wear,
 And still the heart from pain beguile.

Rejoice! then, ye of hopeful years,—
 O! sing and dance while yet you may;
Nor let your hearts, disturbed by fears,
 Look forward to a sadder day.

Strike up the old familiar air,
 And let our hearts to-night rejoice;
A farewell let us give to care,
 And in the song blend every voice.

Tune up! dear hearts, each tuneful throat,
 It is your mother's natal day;
Her voice still with your own shall float,
 As sweet as ere her hair was gray.

And though our years are gathering fast,
 We will to-night be young again;
Again live o'er the sacred past,
 And bid good-bye to care and pain.

Blow! winter wind—we dread you not—
 And spread your snow upon the ground,
While safe within our rural cot,
 Among our treasures we are found.

Our cattle all are housed and fed,
 The barn-yard fowl have gone to rest,
Old "Billy" has his clean straw bed,
 And blanket strapped across his breast.

The sheds well filled with oak and pine,
 Cut from the woods a year ago;
Our household comforts all combine
 To keep aloof the frost and snow.

Thanks to a kindly Father's hand,
 Thanks unto Him who rules above,
Our lot is cast in this fair land,
 'Mid scenes that we so dearly love.

While we forget not in our prayer
 Those who to-night are on the sea;
And from our store afford a share
 To meet the claims of poverty.

Remember still those who so late
 In bonds groaned on our Southern soil,
And by the treachery of State
 Are now oppressed by want and toil.

Blow! Boreas, from your ice-bound sphere,
 And ring your chords among our trees;
Sound forth the wailings of the year,
 Where sang so late the summer breeze.

Come! Ranger, leave the glowing hearth,
 Where you so long have dreamed and slept;
The cat and kittens join in mirth,
 'Tis time your watch and ward were kept.

Old Ranger 'neath the dresser sneaks,
 With wagging tail and upturned eye—
In vain his master sharply speaks,
 For all exclaim, "O! let him lie!"

Yes, lie thou shalt, now stiff and old,
 Naught shall subject thee to the storm;
Thou once wast like the lion, bold,
 Of stately port, and graceful form.

So let the storm blow wildly out,
 And howl and whistle at our ears;
Our social bliss will put to rout
 And drive afar all idle fears.

Then, heap the wood upon the fire!
 And send a glow on all around!
Let all within to mirth conspire!
 Let merriment to-night abound!

Ye tranquil hours, supremely blessed,
 Dear to my heart—a present heaven—
When no rude passions stir the breast
 And all is calm as Summer even.

What, then, are riches? What is fame?
 The one takes wings and flies away;
The other glitters in a name,
 And only lives its poor, brief day.

How sweet the boon of rural peace,
 That soothes, and heals, the wounded heart:
May thy sweet influence never cease,
 May'st thou and I ne'er have to part.

Dear, quiet haunts, where nature smiles,
 And o'er her votary kindly flings
Her genial blessings, and beguiles
 The heart that listens as she sings.

Her song of truth and beauty tell,
 And speaks the great, good Giver's praise!
From mountain top to shady dell
 All things the glorious anthem raise.

O! mellowed days, O! hallowed shrines!
 Where hearts in peace together dwell;
Around which memory entwines,
 And bids the soul with pleasure swell.

Ah! what were life without the power
 To call to mind our happier days,
While waiting for that holier hour
 When we shall join the song of praise?

Then, pleasant pictures let us strive
 Upon life's canvas oft to paint,
Where we again the past may live,
 Though age may make them worn and faint.

With hope triumphant in the heart,
 A trust that all is ordered right;
They who to others joy impart,
 Shall find their waning years more bright.

In chorus shout the brave old air
 That hath awaked this happy vein!
Give vent to joy, farewell to care,
 And yield to love's supernal reign.

Brooklawn, January, 1868.

AN EXQUISITE STORY BY LAMARTINE.—In the tribe of Neggdeh, there was a horse, whose fame was spread far and near, and a Bedouin of another tribe, by name Daher, desired extremely to possess it. Having offered in vain for it his camels and his whole wealth, he hit at length upon the following device, by which he hoped to gain the object of his desire. He resolved to stain his face with the juice of an herb, clothe himself in rags, to tie his legs and neck together, so as to appear like a lame beggar. Thus equipped, he went to wait for Naber, the owner of the horse, who, he knew, was to pass that way. When he saw Naber approaching on his beautiful steed, he cried out in a weak voice, "I am a poor stranger; for three days I have been unable to move from this spot to obtain food. I am dying; help me, and heaven will reward you." The Bedouin kindly offered to take him up on his horse and carry him home; but the rogue replied, "I cannot rise; I have no strength left." Naber, touched with pity, dismounted, led his horse to the spot, and with great difficulty, set the seeming beggar on its back. But no sooner did Daher feel himself in the saddle, than he set spurs to the horse, and galloped off, calling out as he did so, "It is I, Daher. I have got the horse, and I am off with it." Naber called after him to stop and listen. Certain of not being pursued, he turned and halted at a short distance from Naber, who was armed with a spear. "You have taken my horse," said the latter. "Since heaven has willed it, I wish you joy of it; but I do conjure you never to tell any one how you obtained it." "And why not?" said Daher. "Because," said the noble Arab, "Another man might be really ill, and men would fear to help him. You would be the cause of many refusing to perform an act of charity, for fear of being duped as I have been." Struck with shame at these words, Daher was silent for a moment, then, springing from the horse, returned it to its owner, embracing him. Naber made him accompany him to his tent, where they spent a few days together, and they became fast friends for life.

BOSTON ART NOTES.

PROGRESS OF AMERICAN CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHY.

From the Boston Advertiser.

MR. PRANG is rapidly increasing his business and improving his beautiful art. He has begun his long-contemplated "Gallery of American Painters," in which he proposes to produce at least one characteristic picture by each of our eminent artists. He has already published several landscapes by Bricher, several groups of chickens and the like by Tait, several flower and fruit pieces by Mrs. Lily M. Spencer and Miss V. Granberry of New York, a couple of *genre* pictures by Niles of Boston, a series of Ruggles's "gems" in oil colors, besides a great variety of illuminated texts and cards by Miss Jennie Lee of New Jersey, and cartoons and lithography by Mr. Homer and others.

He has now in active preparation "A New England Winter Landscape" by the late Mr. Morveiller of Malden; a figure piece, "The Barefooted Boy," by Eastman Johnson; "Easter Morning," by Mrs. Theresa Hart, wife of James Hart, the landscape painter; two brilliant pictures of children in the woods, "The May Queen" and "The Little Rogue," by Mr. J. G. Brown; "The Shipwreck of Steerforth," by Moran; "The Friends," by Giraud; "The White Mountains in October," by George L. Brown; "The Bay of New York," by the same artist; "The Falls of the Yo Semite," by Bierstadt; two fruit pieces by S. W. Fuller; "Cherries and Basket," by Mrs. Granberry; and besides these he has a number of other compositions on the easels of distinguished New York painters. Tait is hard at work on his favorite subjects. We are not at liberty to name the paintings by foreign artists that are to be chromoed as rapidly as possible, because, in the absence of an international copyright law, fine-art publishers are liable to the same annoyances which are now experienced by the publishers of foreign books.

The "Winter Landscape," by Morveiller, is a picture as essentially New Englandish—if we may coin the word—as pumpkin pies or Thanksgiving. Morveiller made a specialty of Winter scenes, and was admitted to be the best painter of snow in America. This is one of the best of his small pieces. It represents an old farm-house by the roadside, with its inevitable L's and out-houses; grandma in the yard engaged in feeding poultry; a group of skaters, on a frozen stream hard by, with spectators looking on at the sport; in the distance the village church with its high spire, and a glimpse of the village, which is hidden by the trees on its outskirts. A grand old elm, under whose wide-spreading branches the farm-house is built, is rendered with wonderful fidelity and spirit; and the apple-tree, on the other side of the road, seems to have been photographed from every family homestead in Massachusetts away from the great iron thoroughfares. The picture is a pleasant one; for it has a warm, cheerful glow—such as every one delights in, on "fine mornings" in Winter when the snow lies deep and the sleigh-bells are ringing merrily on every road.

The "Falls of the Yo Semite" is a characteristic bit of California scenery in Bierstadt's well-known style. It represents a bright sunset on a lonely lake, whose solitude is disturbed only by a pair of water-fowl that hover over and rest on the rocks at the shore. Abrupt, steep and rugged cliffs—over a part of which tumbles headlong a graceful waterfall—form the southern boundary of the lake; and a fringe of gigantic, branchless fir-trees skirt the northern shore. It is a careful study after nature and every touch is *Bierstadtish.*

The "Barefooted Boy" is a true artist's rendering of Whittier's familiar lines:

> "Blessings on thee, little man,
> Barefoot boy with cheeks of tan,
> With thy turned-up pantaloons
> And thy merry whistled tunes;
> With thy red lip, redder still
> Kissed by strawberries on the hill;
> With the sunshine on thy face
> Through thy torn brim's jaunty grace;
> From my heart I give thee joy—
> I was once a barefoot boy!
> Prince thou art—the grown up man
> Only is republican.
> Let the million-dollared ride;
> Barefoot, trudging at his side,
> Thou hast more than he can buy
> In the reach of ear and eye—
> Outward sunshine, inward joy—
> Blessings on thee, barefoot boy!"

It represents a comely rustic lad, clad in coarse homespun dress, with his trousers turned up, his hands in his pockets and the brightest of "knowing" yet innocent smiles on his face and in his eyes. His face is half shaded by his broad-brimmed hat; his feet are firmly planted on a grey rock; he looks so hopeful, so self-reliant, so entirely at his ease, that he seems the perfect incarnation of Young America. The accessories of this picture are a distant landscape with a tree in the middle and foreground. They are well handled, but they serve only to support the figure, which is one of the best pieces that Mr. Johnson has ever produced.

The "Fringed Gentian" after Newman, is one of those fearfully and wonderfully elaborate and truthful representations of vegetable life in which the pre-Raphaelite school of artists of New York and elsewhere seem to delight. It is in water colors. It looks as if it had been drawn with the aid of a microscope—the most Liliputian details are so exactly reproduced. It is one of the most difficult subjects to chromo, and we shall take an interest in examining the result.

Among the fruit-pieces in press, judging from the originals, we prefer "The Cherries" and the "Strawberries," of Miss Granberry, which are certainly admirably rendered, with a luscious fidelity to nature. Mr. Fuller's pieces are highly finished and harmonious in color, but it strikes us that the subjects are less likely to be universally popular.

"The Friends," by Giraud—we forgot to name it in our list—is the picture of a little girl, who is petting a Newfoundland dog. Giraud has an excellent faculty for the conception and execution of this class of subjects, and this is one of his happiest efforts. It will charm the children everywhere.

In an entirely different style, but of the same character, are the companion pictures by J. G. Brown, of New York. This young artist excels in *genre* pictures; he renders children with a rare ability, especially when there is a single figure at rest, but in an attitude expressive of mental action. These subjects—the "May Queen" and the "Little Rogue"—are just suited to his peculiar genius. The "May Queen" is a little girl in the woods, brilliantly attired, self-adorned with wild flowers, bathed in sunlight, her eyes beaming with delight at the thought of surprising her friends by her new and gay decorations. The "Little Rogue," is the picture of a boy, four or five years old, who is trying to hide himself from somebody coming—which somebody he is evidently intending to startle. He is stooping under a sumac bush, which he gently bends over him. This gives the artist an opportunity for a brilliant piece of coloring. It is Autumn, and the declining sun shoots its rays through the misty atmosphere, brightening the gay hues of the sumac leaves and warming up the surroundings of the figure, which are rather cold and low in tone. The two pictures contrast finely; the clear, bright, Summer glow of Spring—in "the May Queen"—being harmoniously offset against the dreamy, misty, Autumnal vapors in "the Little Rogue." Mr. Brown regards these pictures as his masterpieces.

"Easter Morning," by Mrs. Hart, is a massive marble cross, hung round about with fuchsias, pansies, yellow roses and other exquisitely tinted flowers. It is a combination entirely novel, peculiar and lovely. We have seldom seen an effect so original produced by a combination of such simple and familiar elements. There is an affluence of quiet beauty in the wreath that is essentially harmonious with Easter and its sacred memories. It is altogether charming. If there is a single flaw in it we have failed to detect it. As far as the chromo has gone it bids fair to rival the original; but we prefer to reserve our judgment upon it until it is completed; we know only that if it is at all comparable to the exquisite painting, it will soon be one of the most common ornaments of our boudoirs, vestries, Sunday schools, and libraries.

The last painting on our list was handed in as we were taking notes of the new publications. It is a small reproduction of "The Crown of New England," a painting which, both in England and America, has secured for Mr. George L. Brown some of the highest encomiums from artists and art critics which American productions have ever obtained. Glowing, poetically truthful, full of brilliancy and light and beauty, it represents the White Mountains when they are seen to the best advantage—when, as the portrait painters say, they are in their "highest moments"—transfigured under the early morning sun-burst of a late October day. The original on a large scale is on exhibition at the Art Gallery of Childs & Co., where it has been visited and admired by thousands of our wealthiest and best educated citizens. If this beautiful creation, this lyric on canvas, can be reproduced in fac-simile, it will mark an epoch in the art; for the vapors and mists that encircle the mountain sides, the subtile gradations of light and shade, and the marvellous blendings of colors and tints render it exceedingly difficult either to imitate or duplicate.

It is gratifying to know that the popular demand for pictures is almost in the exact ratio of their artistic excellence. Every touch of nature, whether on canvas or in chromo, is instantly recognized and applauded. The best things sell best; no reputation avails against the fact as it is. "Ruggles's gems" have not paid expenses, whereas Tait's groups go off with amazing rapidity. Of Bricher's pictures, on the other hand, "The White Mountains" and "Esopus Creek" and "Sawyer's Pond" (a little gem) and one or two others have a steady and rapid sale, while some others do not move off at all. The people have a truer taste than they generally have been credited with in the critical's doomsday book. It is a faith in this instinctive taste that has borne on Mr. Prang to the rare good fortune that has rewarded his efforts.

BERWICK.

WAGES.

BY ALFRED TENNYSON.

GLORY of warrior, glory of orator, glory of song,
 Paid with a voice flying by to be lost on an endless sea—
Glory of virtue, to fight, to struggle, to right the wrong—
 Nay, but she aim'd not at glory, no lover of glory she:
Give her the glory of going on, and still to be.

The wages of sin is death: if the wages of virtue be dust,
 Would she have heart to endure for the life of the worm and the fly?
She desires no isles of the blest; no quiet seats of the just,
 To rest in a golden grove, or to bask in a Summer sky:
Give her the wages of going on, and not to die.

—*Macmillan's Magazine.*

M. EDOUARD LABOULAYE AND HIS LECTURES.

PARIS, January 23, 1868.

THERE are in France but two narrow spheres in which anything like freedom of speech is found. One is the Corps Legislatif, and the other, the alma mater of Paris and all France—the "College de France." Among the professors of this ancient and most eminent institution there are some independent minds that, regardless of the political circumstances surrounding them, venture to examine the great questions of modern times with the utmost fearlessness from a liberal point of view, and express their opinions with great freedom to their audiences. Perhaps the boldest of these hardy spirits is M. Edouard Laboulaye, the well-known historian, moralist, satirist, and advocate of the American political and social system, who fills the chair of political history. For many years this active agitator for social reform and political progress has made his regular course of lectures at the college the means of propagating the self-evident truisms that find their most perfect manifestations in the institutions of the United States. This Winter, he again pursues his noble work with unabated zeal. He lectures nominally on Montesquieu's "Spirit of the Laws." But with his usual habit of preaching his faith on every possible occasion, he makes his subject furnish him constant opportunities for dwelling upon the solid structure raised on the sure foundations of true liberty in the North American Republic, and for pointing out, by dint of comparison, the shortcomings of the present political system of France. Indeed, for every one word devoted to Montesquieu, he utters four in praise of democratic institutions, and in derogation of the autocratic *régime* oppressing his own country. Yet neither his eulogies upon the former or his criticisms of the latter are of a direct kind. He approves and censures altogether by indirection, and this constitutes the peculiar characteristic and charm of his lectures. He never asserts the superiority of the institutions of the United States over those of France point-blank, but he places them in juxtaposition in such a way as to lead his hearers naturally to the right conclusion on the subject. Again, he never bluntly proclaims that the present rule in France is constitutional only in semblance and despotic in reality, but by his mode of contrasting it with the degree of liberty enjoyed on the other side of the Atlantic, he impresses his audiences just as deeply with the fact as though he openly stated it. By this method he manages to inculcate his views in the minds of the public that hears him—the lectures at the College de France are regularly attended, not only by students, but by hundreds of cultivated ladies and gentlemen of native and foreign extraction, including many Americans—without running the risk of provoking a direct conflict with the powers that be. In his constant digressions upon political ground, he brings into full play the powers of art, irony and satire, with which he is more richly endowed than any other living Frenchman known to fame. So redundant are his capacities in this respect, that almost every sentence he utters is seasoned by some spark of humor, ironical allusion or satirical turn of speech. He has an inimitable dry way of saying sharp and humorous things that keeps his hearers continuously in a state of pleasant emotion. Yet, whether they be moved to laughter by some of his witty sayings, or excited into loud applause by a plain hit at some political abuse in France, he always maintains a remarkable sobriety of countenance in full keeping with his apparent unconsciousness of the moral warfare he is waging against "tyranny disguised." I have seen him look, indeed, amidst both the roars of laughter and shouts of "bravo" of the audience, as though he was utterly at a loss to understand how those around him came to make such demonstrations of satisfaction. Only at such times the slightest twitch in one of the corners of his mouth betrayed his sympathy with the sensations of his hearers. Besides the gifts mentioned, M. Laboulaye possesses a pleasing voice, an extraordinary fluency, beauty and diversity of expression, an astonishingly quick, concise, and yet always logical argumentation, and the difficult art of retaining the attention of the audience from his first to his last word. Altogether, no finer intellectual treat can be found in all Paris than to attend his lectures. And, in addition to entertaining and instructing, they afford an excellent opportunity for obtaining a good idea as to the state of political feeling among the thinking people of the French capital. The readiness with which the lecturer's covered attacks upon Napoleonism elicit enthusiastic echoes from the intelligent native audience, shows very strikingly how profound the discontent with the present *regime* is among the well-informed and reflecting classes of France. It has been a matter of wonder to me all along that the government, which ordinarily displays such merciless rigor in suppressing everything of the nature of a political demonstration, permits the outbreaks of dissatisfaction with its policy that take place twice a week in the lecture-room of M. Laboulaye. To be sure, it could not depose him from his professorship without violating an organic law. But still it could repress the manifestations of popular sympathy with his teachings. Whatever the reason of this tolerance may be, M. Laboulaye is certainly entitled to the highest regard of every friend of political progress for the persistency with which he continues to make propaganda in his peculiar way of democratic principles, and for the pride which he takes in maintaining his moral independence, and refusing to follow the example of, alas! so many of the first minds of France, whom decorations and other empty honors at the hands of the government have induced to lend a passive or active countenance to the existing *regime.—Boston Advertiser.*

REGARDING STUDY.—Study is healthful. Real study conduces to peace of mind and body. Many girls, and boys too, are incapable of it. I have known parents lament the effects of hard study on their children, when those children never knew an hour's hard study, and never could compass it if their lives depended on it. What they suffer from is inability to study, not study. Parental ignorance, vice, weakness, or mismanagement has given them bodies and souls alike nerveless and flaccid. They can go to parties, follow the fashions, lounge over books; perhaps pore and worry over them; but they are utterly incapable of concentration, energy, struggle, victory. Their minds are inane and their bodies drooping. Others have fine physical powers in which their puny souls are well-nigh lost. Others have strong souls, but chained to a body of death. By all means let such children quietly fall out of the ranks.—*Women's Wrongs.*

THE BLESSEDNESS OF BEING NEEDED.

'Tis being needed makes the father's worth;
'Tis being needed makes the mother's bliss;
'Tis being needed makes up woman's life:
And just the best resisteth not the call,
The inner calling—to be needed! Hence
She bears both toil and trouble cheerfully.
Yet who more blessings gives than he men need?
Who more forlorn then he whom men need not?
How many would the human circle drop,
If all fell out of it whom men scarce need.—
Who need, themselves—God and the world and men,
And throne and cottage, water, bread and salt.
Whatever a man truly needs, in haste
And without stint his neighbor offers him,—
The woman gives him her long hair to knit,
The miser gives him wine to put out fires.
The lame man gives his dog to guide the blind;
For what man truly needs, that verily
Belongs to him! And nothing but the doubt
Whether he truly needs a boon, holds back
In men the godlike impulse which cries "Give!"
To need is also, then a human thing;
To need is for the poor a blessed lot.
It reaches bread to him from mercy's hand,
Necessity gives loves to loving ones,
Necessity discloses man to man.
Whoso needs not lives far away from life;
He is a stupid fool who cheats himself,
Feeding with pride his void and craving soul:—
Nay, see he's dead,—one of the coffined dead!
And he there in the coffin, were he now
A really forlorn, unneeded one—
Would he not, dead now first need everything?
Need a new life? Need a new world? Nay, more,
Would he not need a breath to draw, from heaven?
And how? does not God need him greatly, too,
An object for his love, for all his gifts?
He who needs all the world,—that one is God!
Therefore the world is! and we, needed ones!
And 'tis because we need him, He loves us,—
And him, because he needs us, Him we love!

—*The Layman's Breviary.*

GOETHE AND BETTINE.

RARELY has any relation of individuals been so original, and awakened so much interest, as that between Goethe and his child-friend, Bettine. In publishing their correspondence, many years after its close, Bettine prefaces it with the remark: "This book is for the good, and not for the bad." She foresaw how the bad would misinterpret it, yet felt that she could afford to defy their incompetent construal. She loved Goethe to idolatry—her whole soul vibrating beneath the power of the possession; but the ideality of the passion, in her native and spontaneous nature, was a perfect safeguard from evil. Under this spell, all her rich, unquestioning ardors of reverence and fondness were as sacredly guided as the movements of Mignon, dancing blindfold amidst the eggs, with never a false step. Goethe's conduct towards the trustful and impassioned girl was exceedingly discreet, in its mingled kindness and wisdom. He felt the sweetness of her worship; he guarded her as a father would from its dangers. But, above all, he was profoundly interested in the spectacle of her young, original, unveiled soul. The electric soil of her brain teemed with a miraculous efflorescence, on which he never tired of gazing. It was to him like sitting apart in some still place and watching the secret forces and workings of nature, reflected in a small mirror. Thus Bettine writes from the strange fulness of her mind, in mystic language, to Goethe's mother: "Would that I sat a beggar child, before his door, and took a piece of bread from his hand, and that he knew, by my glance, of what spirit I am the child. Then would he draw me nigh to him, and cover me with his cloak, that I might be warm. I know he would never bid me go again. I should wander in the house, and no one would know who I was or whence I came; and years would pass, and life would pass, and in his features the whole world would be reflected to me, and I should not need to learn anything more." And Goethe replies, "Your dear letters bestow on me so much that is delightful that they may justly precede all else; they give to me a succession of holidays, whose return always blesses me anew. Write to me all that passes in your mind. Farewell. Be ever near me, and continue to refresh me." Mont Blanc stoops, with all his snows, to kiss the rosy vale nestling at his feet.

Goethe, in the course of his life, stood in the most intimate relations with a large number of the rarest women. Few men have ever appreciated female character so well. No one has exhibited their virtues and pleaded their cause with a more impressive combination of insight, sympathy, and veneration. His many sins towards women deserve severe condemnation and rebuke; but it is an outrageous wrong towards his noble genius to limit attention, as so many critics do, to that aspect of the case. The wondering love and study which Frederike, Lili, and others drew from him; the religious admiration and awed curiosity evoked in him by the spiritual Fraulein von Klettenburg, "over whom," as he said, "in her invalid loneliness, the Holy Ghost brooded like a dove;" the respectful affection, gratitude, and homage commanded by the extraordinary merits of his lofty and endeared friends the Duchess Amelia and the Grand Duchess Louise—all bore fruits in his experience and his works. The revelations they made, the examples they set, the lessons they taught, the noble suggestions they kindled, reappear in the series of enchanting, glorious, adorable women—Gretchen, Natalia, Ottilia, Iphigenia, Makaria, and the rest—who, with their artless affection, their self-renouncement, their wisdom, their dignity, their holiness, their sufferings, appear in his master-works, breathing presentments of life for the edification and delight of generations of readers. He has recognized, more profoundly than any other author, the essentially feminine form of that divine principle of disinterested love, that impulse of pure self-abnegation, in which resides the redemptive power of humanity; and has set it forth with incomparable clearness and constancy. At the close of Faust he has given it statement in a form which associates his genius with that of Dante, and in a kindred height. It is the womanly element, he would say, worshipful and self-denying love, that draws us ever forward, redeeming and uplifting our grosser souls.—*Alger's Friendships of Women.*

HOW ELEPHANTS WERE SHIPPED TO ABYSSINIA.—Part of the outfit of the English expedition to Abyssinia was a herd of twenty elephants—unwieldy animals at best, but uncommonly troublesome as passengers on shipboard. A Bombay paper describes the shipment:

"The hoisting tackle required was of immense strength, and the hoist was formed in this way. The main yard was supported from the lower mast head by stay tackles; from the top-mast-head there was a strengthening tackle, and from the lower mast-head to the yard there were preventers. From the fore-mast-head there was a tackle for hauling the hoist forward. The elephants were brought from the place where they were picketed, one by one, and on reaching the Compta's side were fettered and placed in slings, consisting of the stoutest canvas secured by thick lashings. The height to which the animals had to be hoisted before they were lowered away into the hold was some twenty to thirty feet, and a small regiment of kallases was employed in working the lifting tackle. The operation was really an extraordinary sight, well worth witnessing, and it was curious to observe the different modes in which the unwieldy beasts submitted to it. Some, when they found themselves suspended in mid air, shed tears copiously, and were affected in a remarkable manner; others became vicious, and roared and plunged about most alarmingly.

"In the days of Queen Elizabeth some rather remarkable ideas were entertained in England as to the anatomy of the elephant, and Shakspeare says: 'The elephant had joints, but none for courting; his legs are for necessity, not for flexure.' Now, nobody in these days, we suppose, holds such an opinion; but if he does, he would have had a convincing proof of his error had he witnessed the surprising agility of some of the elephants hoisted into the hold of the Compta; for they bent their legs about and pawed and kicked with tremendous violence, and one or two managed to throw their legs behind them so as to get a footing on the combing of the hatchway. Fortunately, no difficulty was experienced in dislodging their feet, and they were safely got down below. By about 5 o'clock p.m., nineteen had been embarked, but the twentieth one was so vicious and 'musty' that it was determined not to take him; for he would not submit to be slung, and he seemed very much inclined to do as he pleased. It was said that in an unamiable mood on Friday he killed one of his unfortunate attendants.

MONSTER BELLS OF THE WORLD.—In making large bells, loudness, rather than their pitch, is the object, as their sound can be conveyed to a much greater distance. This accounts for the enormous weight of some of the largest bells. St. Pauls, for instance, weighs 43,000 pounds; that of Antwerp, 16,000 pounds; Oxford, 17,000 pounds; Rome, 19,000 pounds; Mechlin, 20,000 pounds; Bruges, 23,000 pounds; York, 24,000 pounds; Cologne, 25,000 pounds; Montreal, 29,000 pounds; Erfurt, 30,000 pounds; Big Ben (House of Parliament), 41,000 pounds; Sens, 34,000 pounds; Vienna, 40,000 pounds; Novgorod, 69,000 pounds; Pekin, 130,000 pounds; and that of Moscow, 141,000 pounds. But, as yet, the greatest bell ever known is another famous Moscow bell, which was never hung. It was cast by order of the Empress Anne, in 1653. It lies broken on the ground, and is estimated to weigh 441,772 pounds. It is nineteen feet high, and measures around the margin sixty-four feet. There are few bells of interest in the United States. The largest is probably the alarm bell on the City Hall in New York, weighing about 23,000 pounds. As the Russians make pilgrimages to the great Moscow bell, and regard it with superstitious veneration, so the American citizen honors and venerates the old Independence bell at Philadelphia, for he is not only reminded of the glory of the Revolution, but he believes now more than ever, since its injunction has been obeyed, its inscription—"Proclaim liberty throughout the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

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